

# PEACE NEWS

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## WAR SETTLES NOTHING

### To All Parents

AFTER hearing the broadcast news on the night before he returned to school a boy of 14 remarked, quietly and dispassionately, that at least he had three more years before he would probably be killed in battle. He is in every way a healthy, normal boy, in no way given to self-dramatization.

To his parents, one of whom had spent the best of his youth engaged in a war to end war, this comment upon the world into which they had brought their son brought at once humiliation and desperate unhappiness. Nor dare they suppose that theirs is the only home upon which this shadow has fallen during the past weeks.

We have indeed come to a sorry pass when the joy and hope natural to childhood are turned into bitter contemplation of the chances of survival and the end of school life marks the end of either purpose or security.

Such a state of mind in which we find our children invites neither comment nor criticism from their elders. But it demands that we who are responsible for future generations strive each in our own way to lift this shadow of death and hopelessness from a distracted world . . .

Whatever methods we use or whatever sacrifices we may be called upon to make, we must avert this return to dark barbarism, now so close upon us that we can see its shadow in the mirror of our children's minds. Civilization is far from realization if even our children have ceased to dream of it.

From the letter of the boy's father to "The Times," September 24.

### Public Affairs COMMENTARY

#### ANTI-NAZI HYSTERIA

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S efforts having been consistently conciliatory, and this country's murky (but by no means non-contributory) past having been kept out of the official picture, the prime need for those who sincerely seek peace even now is to combat hate-mongering propaganda.

Typical of this propaganda is a leaflet headed *The Hitler Menace*, which has been distributed by the International Peace Campaign, the Left Book Club and "other organizations, &c., &c." (to quote their advertisement).

As a contribution to the peace issue it is deplorable, relying solely upon public ignorance and prejudice for its influence upon opinion.

#### SUDETEN MINORITY

"DON'T be fooled by the pretence that the crisis is anything to do with the 'sufferings' of the Germans in Czechoslovakia (who are one of the best treated minorities in Europe)" is the first sentence.

To prove this statement a quotation is given from the *Economist* ("sober business journal") concerning the bad treatment of the Germans in the South Tyrol by the Italians.

There is, of course, plenty of evidence to this effect and no-one doubts it. It is, however, also true that since the annexation of Austria, a labour agreement between Germany and Italy has been signed which allows for the voluntary transfer of 250,000 German Tyrolese from Italy into the Austrian Tyrol, and presumably this is now being carried out.

With regard to the treatment of the 3½ million Sudeten Germans, it is quite clear that these Sudetens themselves would not agree with the bland description of their condition as given in the leaflet. We need no Henlein evidence to prove this. Werzel Jaksch, the socialist leader, speaking at Bodenbach on April 26, 1936, said:—

Since 1918, the fundamental problems of national cooperation have been dealt with in a partisan manner, or have been dealt with. The Czechs maintain that their obligations under the minority agreements have been fulfilled but their statement does not satisfy us. Let those who want to brush us aside as a minority bear in mind that in Europe alone several independent self-governing States are numerically smaller than the Sudeten Germans.

(Continued on back page)

## Peace Conference Must Seek All-Round Justice

THE Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union re-affirm their conviction that nothing can justify a resort to war. The last Great War slaughtered millions and maimed tens of millions. Its results appear in the present crisis. The last war settled nothing. Another would slaughter its hundreds of millions and still settle nothing.

We condemn, and reject, the use of violence for any purpose by any government. The present crisis is the clearest possible example of historical retribution and a clear justification of pacifist policy. Blame undoubtedly attaches to Germany at the moment, but neither this country nor any other great Power is less to blame for the present situation.

We believe that we have no moral right to demand concessions from Czechoslovakia without being ready to make real sacrifices ourselves. We therefore urge that our Government should at once invite the representatives of all the nations to meet in conference with the immediate object of revising existing treaties. Such a conference can succeed only if the Government of this country goes into it prepared to regard the question of colonial possessions and our own economic policy as open to drastic revision.

The Peace Pledge Union appeals to the public to use any respite which may be given to us now to concentrate upon the demand for a genuine peace conference.

THIS statement was left at number 10 Downing Street and the Foreign Office on Thursday of last week by a deputation from the Peace Pledge Union, led by Mr. George Lansbury.

Our picture shows the members of the deputation arriving at Downing Street. They are (from left to right), Mr. George Lansbury, Dr. Alfred Salter, Canon C. E. Raven, Mr. Laurence Housman, Miss Vera Brittain, and Canon Stuart Morris. Other Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union, who accompanied the deputation can be seen in the background.

#### OTHER STATEMENTS

Among other statements which have been issued during the past week is one signed by representatives of the churches, universities, peace movement, education, politics, the press, the arts, the Cooperative movement, and industry.

Appearing in the *Manchester Guardian* on Monday, it urged that the rightness of any solution of the Czech question must be determined by the contribution it makes to the realization of a general and genuine appeasement in Europe.

Following are extracts from a letter from the Bishop of Chichester, which appeared in *The Times* on Tuesday:—

In the last nineteen years grievous mistakes have been made by us, and expectations on which the defeated had a right to rely have not been fulfilled. There is a nemesis in these things. For what we have left undone we are bound to suffer. We ought not, therefore, to become so absorbed in the shock of immediate events, that we forget how much our own action and inaction are to blame for present conditions.

How often has it been said that war settles nothing! And the tragedy is that the decision to go to war, made by the older citizens, has in the main to be carried out by the younger generation of men, who have had no say, nor responsibility of any kind, for the conditions behind the decision.

I am no friend of Nazi methods. But none can face the prospect of all that a war sets loose unappalled . . . Peace is a common interest to German and Czech, Briton and Frenchman. And when we appeal to moral principles we must all keep the whole past nineteen years in our minds. Even a defeat in negotiation now, if we should be defeated, however humiliating, would be better than a war.

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## The Will to Peace Goes On

THE Peace Pledge Union has given a lead which is being followed by groups and individuals throughout the country. Following are brief accounts of demonstrations and appeals for peace made last week.

Innumerable meetings, large and small, are promised for this weekend, and thousands of people, while they live, will not let even the worst state of affairs deter them from persisting in their demands until peace is assured.

More than 400 delegates from political and religious organizations, and twice as many visitors, filled to capacity the Central Hall, Swansea, on Saturday, for the Parliamentary Pacifist Convention.

The first resolution, making a simple and absolute renunciation of war, was moved by James Hudson, as chairman, seconded by George M. Ll. Davies with a powerful appeal for a spirit of calm and charity in face of the present situation, and carried unanimously.

The second resolution, moved by George Lansbury, called for a new world conference, and urged statesmen to get together with a view to sharing the world's products and markets; it was seconded by Mr. Ithel Davies, of Swansea, and carried.

The evening session opened with the passing of an emergency resolution moved

by George Lansbury, seconded by George M. Ll. Davies, in terms virtually identical with the Peace Pledge Union's statement quoted above.

The third resolution on the agenda, concerning the removal of all war preparations and commitments of a military character, was moved by Mr. W. J. Jenkins, prospective Labour candidate for Pembroke, who said he was a pacifist first and foremost, believing it to be the greatest possible crime to take the life of a fellow man. Miss Rosalind Bevan, West Wales Regional organizer of the Peace Pledge Union, seconded, and three younger speakers—Alun Williams, Wyn Samuel, and Gwynfer Evans. The resolution was carried.

1914 TO . . . ?

A remarkable demonstration, backed by the leading pacifist organizations, was held



## The last war cost:

Deaths:—					
Directly .. ..	13,055,000	Indirectly .. ..	28,379,000		
Total .. ..	41,434,000				
Wounded .. ..	over 23,000,000				
In Great Britain and the Empire alone—					
1,104,890 were killed.		39,000 men lost a limb.			
2,200,000 were wounded.		2,100 were totally blinded.			
160,000 wives lost husbands.		6,187 men lost their reason.			
300,000 children lost fathers.		4,060 men became epileptics.			
		42,000 men contracted tuberculosis.			
There are still in the United Kingdom 423,000 ex-service men who are suffering permanent disablement as a direct result of war service.					
The Great War left Great Britain with a debt of £7,000 millions.					

## What would a new war cost?

in Friends House, London, on Monday, when both halls were packed to overflowing.

The "war to end war," said the Rev. Ralph H. Le Messurier, had not yet ended. Only hostilities ceased in 1918; the spirit of it had gone on.

The two most dangerous men in twentieth century Europe were not Hitler and Mussolini, but Poincaré and Lloyd George.

"There is no need for war. Nothing will be solved by it. Those who make it will not wage it," he added. In the last war many people gave way. It was different today.

"This pacifist movement has come to stay," he concluded amid applause.

Mr. Eric Gill asked whether wars today were wars of justice or whether they were wars of economic advantage. The service of peace meant the abandonment of empire.

Mr. William Corbett, caretaker of a large block of flats in Somers Town, said that if nation could speak to nation out of the common brotherhood of their hearts, there would be no war.

"I am a brass-moulder by trade," he said, "but I refuse to prostitute my skill to kill another worker."

Mr. Roosevelt's message to Hitler and Benesh that day was quoted by George Lansbury. As Roosevelt said, force would settle nothing, and a war such as was contemplated would leave the world in ruins.

He could not understand intelligent people saying that kind of thing and then saying we must go through with it.

Every statesman in Europe knew that what he (Mr. Lansbury) was saying to them was absolutely true. There was no other way under heaven, except the co-operative way.

"When we think of the evils of other governments, let us remember our own history of the past, and even our history of today. We have got to come back literally to the truth that only by confessing to God and confessing to our own conscience can peace and security come to mankind."

### A BETTER IDEA OF LIFE

Mr. Lansbury also spoke in the Mile End Road Assembly Hall on Thursday of last week, when he said that hatred must be met with charity.

"We won't fight back in kind," he said. "We'll show we've got a better idea of life than those who fight. I know there are many who will say I'm talking idealism. Perhaps I am, but it's an idealism that can save the world today."

"There is a mad idea about that there isn't room enough in the world for everybody. Nothing is further from reality. We have mastered science and we can produce as never before, and yet people still starve."

When he was in Prague last year a Social Democrat said, "When the Germans come, George Lansbury will say a prayer for us." "Yes," came the reply, "and it will do more good than coming and joining in."

If war could settle anything, he said, the world would be a paradise today. He had seen six wars, and each had laid the foundation of another.

War was the maddest folly. We must renounce it.

### THE WILL TO PEACE

Speaking in Wesley Church, Cheltenham, last week, Canon Charles Raven remarked that he had been in close touch with the Government in the past two days; had been holding continuous conference with other peace workers, and had read resolutions the Peace Pledge Union and Christian pacifist groups had passed urging the calling of an international conference.

The will to peace was far more widespread than in 1914. The common folk everywhere were aware of the peril and willing to find ways of escape. The revelation of the Gospel showed the way. That meant the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

### P.P.U. GROUPS ACTIVE

Expressions of this will to peace that have already been given by Peace Pledge Union groups include the following:—

London, W.I. group sent this cablegram to Roosevelt on Tuesday night:

URGE RENEWED EFFORTS FOR PEACE. CONVINCED ALL PEOPLES WOULD RESPOND TO WORLD CONFERENCE IF UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP.—Dick Sheppard Centre, London, W.I.

Nuneaton group sent a deputation to Lt.-Com. R. Fletcher, MP, when he spoke there on Sunday. They urged that definite undertakings should be secured "from all the Powers concerned to set in motion at once measures likely to lead to a general international settlement."

Llanelli was given a foretaste of the Swansea Pacifist Convention on September 23, when Carl Wilson, formerly an airman with the Spanish Republican Army, drew a picture of aerial warfare, showing that it meant the bombing by aeroplanes of helpless men, women, and children. James H. Hudson showed that the war method could not save democracy, but that all that was worth saving could be saved by a wide application of international justice.

Leicester's chairman, W. R. Burwell, said at a recent meeting: "You may say that if Hitler is not stopped now it will be more difficult to stop him later on. But if physical resistance is offered to his encroachment, it is inevitable that he will go forward with greater vigour, and his ideals will be perpetuated."

### LEAFLET DISTRIBUTION

A leaflet intended for widespread circulation has been issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, 2.

Addressed to "fellow Christians," it sets out clearly the futility of war, brings out the real problem involved in the present issue, and calls for a solution that will really prevent future wars.

It is hoped that copies will immediately be sent to ministers of religion and others in a position to influence people, and distributed outside meetings and cinemas, from house to house, and in other ways. Large quantities are available free on application.

### UNITY AGAINST WAR

Urging "the unification of all forces in this country that are against the war which seems imminent," a correspondent writes:

There are many who could not with a good conscience renounce all war who yet will oppose war waged by Chamberlain's Government against Hitler's.

In the *New Statesman* Professor Hogben and others have explained why they cannot do other than oppose such a war. They speak as socialists who really want socialism. Mr. Owen Barfield, speaking as a Christian, who thinks that the Christian might in some circumstances make war even with modern weapons, confesses himself forced into the pacifist position at present. The Independent Labour Party declares its unalterable opposition to such a war as we contemplate; as in 1914 it will be a party of conscientious objectors.

Everyone knows that the country is not unanimous in its resolve to go to war. If we cannot stop war, let us at least dispel something of the humbug of the war-mongers; and, more seriously, let us ensure that pacifism shall not disappear, or even hide a diminished head, during the war that seems so probable.

### PEACE AND EMPIRE

At the Peace and Empire Congress organized by the Scottish Peace Council in conjunction with the International Peace Campaign and the National Peace Council, which was held in Glasgow last weekend, the PPU delegation and the majority of ILP members refused to support the resolution which was passed, advocating a block of power to crush fascism.

An amendment moved by the ILP repudiated "all appeals to the British workers to support a war which would in fact be fought to maintain and extend imperialist interests, whatever the incidental occasion," and declared that

If war comes, it is our duty to resist and organize all opposition that would put an end to the war, not by treaties which represent the triumph of one group of imperialists over the other, and which would only sow the seeds of future wars, but by the building of a new world order based on social justice.

George Padmore, representing several millions of Africans, was outstanding in his opposition to the resolution, demanding the freedom of his people and the refusal of all capitalist imperialist wars.

# A Czech Speaks "for Peace"

By ENRICO MOLNAR-SELLI

*In the August numbers of "Peace News" were published a series of articles on Czechoslovakia from a Hungarian view. The following, written by the secretary of the Czechoslovak Fellowship of Reconciliation a fortnight ago (and having passed the censor) claims to be "neither for nor against Czechoslovakia, but simply for peace."*

MOST of my Hungarian friend's quoted "facts about Czechoslovakia" are such distorted assertions that it would mean going through and revising fact after fact and refuting one after another. I will answer some of the most striking assertions. And my aim is not to defend Czechoslovakia and its institutions but only to defend the truth.

My Hungarian friend mentioned part of the Saint Germain-en-Laye Treaty:—

Czechoslovakia undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. (Article 2).

This principle is right, and Czechoslovakia is following it.

It is also not true that "the slogan of the Czech Government is Slovakia and Ruthenia do not need schools, industry, railways and land in order to live." The truth is that after the Great War, when Slovakia and Ruthenia (Northern Hungary) became part of the Czechoslovak Republic, there was not one Slovak High School in the whole country. Up to that time there were allowed only Hungarian schools, though the Hungarian population did not exceed 6.68 per cent of the whole.

### CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

High-school and university education is one of the greatest contributions the Republic has given to Slovakia.

Although there had been "proportional education" in the lower schools of old Hungary, a new policy of Magyarization was inaugurated in 1867. By 1875 the only three middle schools in which the language of instruction had been Slovak were closed. All Czech and Slovak elements were removed even from technical schools, and of course from teacher-training schools, for few Slovak teachers were to be required in the future.

So large a proportion of even elementary schools were Magyarized that, according to official Hungarian statistics of 1914, 214,267 Slovak children were attending purely Magyar elementary schools, and only 42,186 had the opportunity to attend Slovak schools: 365 schools with 539 Slovak teachers. After the law of 1907 none of these was purely Slovak, but taught many subjects in Hungarian. By 1918 the numbers had been forced down to 30,118 children in 276 Slovak schools with 390 teachers.

### LANGUAGE QUESTION

The language law of 1920 allows even greater liberty to minority languages than is enjoined in the Peace Treaties. Wherever in Czechoslovakia any language is the mother-tongue of at least 20 per cent. of the population that language must be permitted in the courts and State and municipal offices.

The actual proportion and distribution of population has necessitated a slight re-assignment of schools in the German-speaking sections of Bohemia and very great changes in Slovakia.

That none of the minorities is deprived of educational opportunity is proved by the fact that 96.2 per cent. of all German school children, 94 per cent. of all Hungarian, and 92.5 per cent. of all Polish school children in the country attend purely German, Hungarian and Polish schools respectively, taught in their own languages by teachers of their own nationality.

### HUNGARIAN POLICY

Czechoslovakia is right and magnanimous to her nationalities in big matters, but in insignificant trifles hesitant.

Our minorities possess schools and other institutions in full proportion, sometimes in excess of their due proportion.

On the other hand, in Hungary there was a Slovak minority of 141,882, according to the census of 1920, but only 104,819 after the last census of 1930! They live especially in the districts of Bekes-Csaba, Komlos, Szarvas, Hont and Esterghom.

According to the law of 1868, all the inhabitants of Hungary are declared members of one indivisible Hungarian nation, joined together by one language—Hungarian. In fact, the Hungarians did not

recognize even the existence of national minorities—Slovak, Rumanian, Serbian, German.

Though, after the war, Hungary was obliged to respect the rights of minorities according to the Treaties, in fact she continued in her pre-war attitude. Up to now, the Slovaks in Hungary have no purely Slovak school; they have only two schools where some subjects are taught in Slovak, and 50 schools with 3 hours of Slovak language in a week.

### LAND REFORM

Now my objection to Nagy's assertion that "the Czech Land Reform followed the killing of the Hungarian soul." Under the Austro-Hungarian régime, according to the last census before the War, there were 401 estates of over 2,500 acres in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. In Slovakia and Ruthenia there were 935 estates of over 1,000 acres each.

There were not 1,336 individual owners, for some families owned many estates. Count Schwarzenberg's family, for example, had 187, of 493,220 acres total area. The wealthier monasteries and bishops each owned numbers of estates, one of the latter possessing 114,394 acres!

Roughly, then a thousand people owned 9,129,838 acres of land, or 26 percent of the total area of the Republic.

Few of these estates were purchased, most of them being presented to the founders of aristocratic families by kings grateful for military or other services. Many had been confiscated by the Hapsburg dynasty after the defeat of the Czechs at White Mountain in 1620, and given to the newly-imported military adventurers or Catholic nobility. Some had accumulated in the hands of certain families by marriage: "land married land" in those days, just as "money marries money" in these.

In contrast to this huge concentration of landed wealth there were countless Lilliputian farms which could not suffice to support a family. Such discrimination was so patent an injustice that democratization of the land was one of the first great reforms legislated for by the Constituent Assembly, even before the Constitution itself was drawn up.

### ABOVE NATIONALITY

We must not put too high the ideal of a State or a nation. There are much higher ideals.

We must never forget that we all are children of one God and that there is loyalty transcending flag or country. For our great philosopher, Comenius, faith was more than country; so that he found himself compelled to leave Bohemia when he couldn't confess his faith there freely.

There is no sense in working for peace from Hungarian or Czechoslovak points of view; we know only too well what Pax Romana means, and we know what a Pax Hungarica, a Pax Bohemica, or a Pax Britannica would mean!

The Hungarian, the Czechoslovak, or the English viewpoint is something temporary, something mortal. Respect men as brothers only—brothers with both good qualities and faults—but always brothers, and not as Hungarians or Czechs.

It is not by changing the frontiers, or by an administrative decision, that national problems will be solved. A correction in laws or frontiers is no solution. The only solution is a correction in spirit. All those problems will find their solution in surmounting the frontiers—economically, but first of all spiritually and morally.

The way of a Czechoslovak pacifist is very difficult now. But it is clear; because there is only one way for him.

Between two hatreds—the one of the Germans, being scoffing and suspicious, on one hand, and the other of the Czechs and Slovaks, who distrust him for being a traitor of the cause of nation or an agent paid by enemies, on the other hand—the Czechoslovak pacifist must remain calm and not lose love of truth and, through love of truth, love of peace.

In the clash of arms and in the roars of hatred at home and all over the world, we must never lose the voice of Him who said, "Rise up and follow Me!"



## "OASIS OF GOOD WILL"

### Growing Strength of International People's College in Denmark

By W. H. MARWICK

THE vacation courses of the International People's College at Elsinore, Denmark, should be visited by all who can.

Founded shortly after the War as a positive contribution to international friendship, it has gone on from strength to strength.

In the renewed war fever of recent years it stands out as an oasis of good will. It owes much to the personality of its creator, Peter Manniche, who, as a young teacher reared in the Grundtvigian tradition of his native folk high schools, sought to adapt them to the cause of Christian pacifism.

Among his earliest supporters were George Lansbury and some British leaders of Quakerism. Now the "high school," appropriately situated in neutral and peace-loving Denmark, receives financial assistance from the municipality and the State.

Its vacation courses attract many from abroad, especially from Britain. This year groups of Congregationalists, Esperantists, and sociologists, parties from the Adult Schools and the Workers' Travel Association have been among the number.

There is a long winter course and a shorter spring course, especially adapted for English speaking students; at these, study is more intensive.

#### A TYPICAL DAY

A typical day at the vacation courses begins with breakfast at eight o'clock which is followed by "Morgensong," when a short religious discourse is given for those who care to attend, by one of the staff or a visitor.

At 9 a.m. there is a lecture in English, and at 10 a.m. a lecture in German, perhaps at 11 a.m. another in English. While no regular provision is made for formal discussion, the topical interest of some subjects provokes informal exchanges.

Dinner follows at noon, after which most are free to read, or shop, or bathe, or lounge on the shores of the Oresund.

Frequently an all-day or afternoon excursion varies the programme. It may be a motor coach drive to Copenhagen to see its sights, concluding with an evening in the unique and world-famed pleasure grounds of Tivoli. Another day we may

take the ferry boat across the Sound to Helsingborg, twenty minutes distant, and from Helsingborg, a bus will convey us to Lund, ancient university town of South Sweden, with its cathedral (noted for wondrous medieval clock), and its open-air museum where the rural life of the past is vividly recreated.

#### PLAIN LIVING

The school began with scanty resources, and the story of its early struggles is something of an epic.

Plain living and high thinking was a necessity as well as a virtue. Though material conditions have improved, it is not an abode of luxury, though it provides excellent value at amazingly low cost.

Those who have once visited it are usually eager to return. They are kept in touch by an Old Students' Union, which issues a quarterly, and the college is now responsible for an English periodical specializing in Scandinavian affairs.

#### PRACTICAL PACIFISM

The social life and institutions of Denmark are of special interest.

The extent to which voluntary cooperation, rather than State coercion, is the basis alike of their adult education, their agricultural economy, their social services, and their abjuration not merely of imperialism but of power politics is encouraging.

They are too hard-headed to be deluded by the illusion of collective security. By drawing together with their former enemies, but blood relations, in the Oslo group, and proclaiming a Scandinavian policy of neutrality in the ideological conflicts of Europe, they evince a practical if not an ideal pacifism.

Their compulsory military service is, however, an accepted custom, for which civilian service is substituted in the case of the growing number of conscientious objectors.

The International College affords to British people a fine opportunity for congenial intercourse with their fellows of many nationalities, and for first-hand study of a community which has gone further than any other in the peaceful solution of social problems. Not least, it offers a healthy, cheap, and varied holiday from which one returns refreshed in body and inspired in soul.

## Advertising the Realities of Modern War

TIME was when the only part children were allowed to play in war was to give up certain food their little bodies needed, so that the troops could have it... Now the kiddies are permitted to die just like their daddies.

This is part of the caption to the latest of the remarkable series of pictorial advertisements (in this case showing a child in his cot) which are a striking feature of the propaganda of World Peaceways, a New York organization.

The work of the organization is along several different lines. One of its chief jobs is described as "a continual research of those forces throughout the world that intend to rob us of peace and plunge us into war."

From this research is written each week a radio programme called World Observer. This programme is sent to radio stations in every part of the United States, where it is delivered by one of the regular station staff or by a friend of World Peaceways.

That release is also sent to educators, editors, and others in America and abroad who influence public opinion.

#### PROPAGANDA REACHES MILLIONS

In addition, there is the magazine and newspaper advertising. Last year World Peaceways advertising appeared in publications with an aggregate circulation of 25,000,000.

The World Peaceways office also keeps in close contact with what is going on in Washington. It protests on behalf of its members against the passage in Congress of any Bill that might endanger peace. It does the same with any activity of the

State Department. It also praises and encourages any official action which tends to promote peace.

It has specialized in the problem of peace education in the public schools, has surveyed the situation in 48 States, and is mobilizing public support to get the school authorities to make more adequate provision for this subject.

The material of World Peaceways is circulated in practically every country of the world, through its direct efforts or through cooperation of friends abroad.

#### WHAT AMERICA CAN DO

The possibilities which World Peaceways suggest for service by the United States to the cause of World peace include:

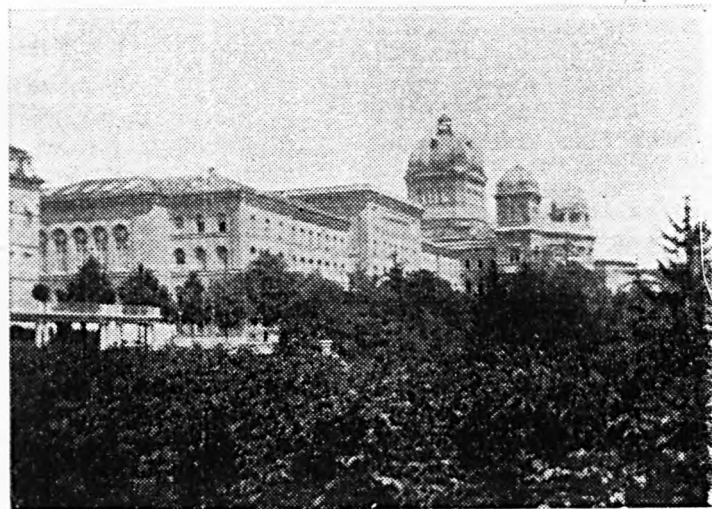
1. End America's increasing role of "arsenal for the armies and navies of the world."
2. Continue support of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees established by the conference which met at Evian, France, this summer.
3. Ensure the development of sound relationships between the Governments in the Western Hemisphere.
4. Provide equality in opportunities for trade.

The complete programme of World Peaceways services for Latin American countries provides for electrical transcription for the radio stations, and advertisements in mat form for the newspapers and plates for the magazines, and these additional services will be provided as rapidly as the income of World Peaceways will permit.

On the domestic front, material has been issued throughout the States, designed to stimulate the election of Senators and Representatives who have a sound attitude toward current international issues, especially those affecting the United States.

## Tranquil Switzerland

"A Perfect Example of True Democracy"



Parliament Building, Berne, Switzerland

HAVING just returned from a visit to Switzerland, my second visit to that country, I have had a good opportunity to realize what a perfect example of true democracy the constitution of this little republic represents.

The unity and harmony contained within its borders surely must teach us a valuable political lesson in these days when the world is so full of strife caused by the impact of present-day ideologies.

#### FOUR LANGUAGES

Switzerland comprises an area of just under 16,000 square miles, and has a population of about 4½ million inhabitants.

The country is divided into 22 cantons of dissimilar size, all of which are completely autonomous, as far as government is concerned, for all have their own parliaments. Seventy percent of the population speaks German, twenty percent French, six percent Italian, and a small percentage speaks Romansch, a Germanic Latin dialect, which has recently been officially recognized as the fourth language of the country.

Protestants are in the majority, enumerating about 55 percent, but there is a large Roman Catholic minority of some forty percent. Thus, with three nationalities, four languages, and two religions, there exists a unity that is unknown within any other Central European State.

#### MINIATURE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The federal capital is Berne, and it is here that the representatives of the 22 cantons meet, in the Parliament Building shown above. A member may address the assembly in any of the four official languages.

The constitution of Switzerland represents a perfect League of Nations in miniature, and is also the first step toward the great ideal of a European Commonwealth; the United States of Europe.

EDWARD J. TREBY

### Norwegian War Resisters

The War Resisters' International having recently made closer contact with its numerous members all over Norway, this has resulted in the formation of a strong Norwegian section of the International.

The section was started by a manifesto in the press asking sympathizers to sign the WRI pledge. New members were reported this summer to be coming in daily.

They are keen and enthusiastic, and include many university students.

## China After the War

Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek on its Lesson

WHAT war is teaching China is shown in a series of five articles which Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek, wife of the Chinese Generalissimo, has contributed to the *Spectator* on the reconstruction of China after its devastation by the present war.

"We in China need substantial and unashamed humility. We also need to see a change of heart in large numbers of the officially prominent, as well as in leaders in civilian circles," she says.

"Especially do we need it in those who have hitherto been, perhaps unconsciously, obstructionists to national progress by virtue of their failure to cooperate in forwarding different lines of public endeavour."

#### EFFECT OF WAR

The nation-wide suffering, the continual sight of "crashing, instantaneous death," the "vastness and awful suddenness of destruction by far-flung explosives" have noticeably sobered innumerable people.

"Dare we hope," she asks, "that out of the recognition of human frailty and fallibility, out of the sight of the awe-inspiring panorama of our nation, struggling at once in the throes of death and potential rebirth, will come a real transformation in the hearts and minds of those who survive and who have in various ways contributed to the previous stagnation of their country?"

Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek looks forward to the careful development of village industry wherever it is possible for raw material to be produced and worked up to supply the daily needs of the people.

There would have to be mechanical aid in some cases, but she hopes that machinery will never be taken to China with the prime object of saving labour. Machinery should only be used to make necessities which hands cannot make.

Cut-throat competition between manufacturers should not be permitted, because in that the workmen suffer.

## FROM DR. SMILES TO DR. INGE

Dr. Smiles in 1859 advocated thrift as an essential to Self-Help. Dr. Inge in 1938 is not so sure about it. So may the virtue of one generation become the vice of the next! But there is this about thrift: the more you save the more you have to spend.

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# NEW BOOKS

## IMPERIALISM AND WAR

**Why Were They Proud? A Study of Empire.** Pacifist Research Bureau. 1s.

Reviewed by J. F. Horrabin

THIS book ought to have a circulation at least as large as that of *Peace News*. Its thesis is that it is not enough for pacifists to wish, hope, or pray for peace; they must, if their beliefs are to be any more than a mere attitude of mind, understand the causes of war.

Its authors are in no doubt as to those fundamental causes. "When this continual conflict under which the nations exist is examined objectively it will be found to have its basis in the fact of the almost universal acceptance of imperialism as a desirable expression of national greatness. This book, therefore, is about imperialism."

And their analysis of the present world situation is surely strictly accurate when they point out that the League of Nations has failed precisely because it has "evaded this basic question of imperialism." The one positive proposition in the Covenant of the League is that its members "undertake to respect and preserve . . . the territorial integrity . . . of all members of the League."

Aggression, that is, is henceforth forbidden. But the beneficiaries of past aggressions are confirmed in their possessions. That is not a foundation on which a stable world peace can be built.

The book begins with some historical chapters tracing the development of modern imperialism from the days of the Conquistadores and the seamen of Elizabethan England down to the scramble for Africa in the latter years of the nineteenth century. These chapters are excellently done, and full value is given to the dramatic interest of the story.

The later chapters discuss in considerable detail the actual working of imperialism today. In "Empire is Debt" we are shown the modern method of exacting tribute from weaker peoples, and how the stronger Powers—the creditor countries—deliberately use indebtedness to secure executive and military control. The final stage—the one which has been reached in almost every colony throughout the world today—is that of revolt.

The admirable section on "Conditions of the Subject Peoples" discusses under the headings of "Land Policy," "Taxation," "Civil Liberties," and "Colonial Budgets," the exact extent to which the self-styled agents of civilization fulfil their task. Many of the facts and figures quoted have been given publicity often before. They will bear repetition.

The single instance of the 8d. per annum expended by the Government of Kenya on the education of each African child, as compared with £2 18s. 3d. for each European child, is a sufficient commentary on the hollowness of the pretence that the interests of native peoples are everywhere paramount.

One need not agree with every opinion expressed by the nine authors of this book in order to compliment them wholeheartedly on their joint product. I myself found the chapter on the Mandates System too wholly destructive in its criticism; and that on "The Colonial Peoples and Civilization" a little too inclined to romanticize primitive social systems and cultures. The blunt fact is that most primitive peoples actively want European civilization—for obvious material reasons; and since this book is an earnest plea for democracy its authors can scarcely ignore that desire.

A useful bibliography is appended to each chapter. May I suggest that it is a pity, at the end of chapter 5, to include of H. N. Brailsford's books only *The War of Steel and Gold*, now out of print, and omit his superb *Property or Peace?* (from which, by the way, the authors surely took their slogan of "Empire is Debt") and his recent small volume *Why Capitalism Means War*. I should also have certainly included in the general bibliography Leonard Barnes's *Skeleton of Empire*, the best short study of British imperialism ever written.

## RUSSIAN DICTATORSHIP

**Assignment in Utopia.** By Eugene Lyons. Right Book Club choice for August.

A rare descriptive ability, a keen imagination, and a free spirit which refused to accept the authority of dogmatism, in the face of the destruction of the ideas which gave rise to that dogmatism, are the qualities which have produced this book, which is remarkable for its vivid accounts of the endless succession of events into which the author has woven the story of his life. *Assignment in Utopia* has a twofold appeal, for besides stirring the imagination, it is stimulating to the mind as we watch the swift current of events upon which the author is tossed in a vain endeavour to reconcile his own conception of communism with the grim reality which confronted him when he eventually reached Russia.

His first communist stirrings, he admits, were part of his revolt against the ugliness and poverty, the sweat and unrelenting tussle, with which he had become all too familiar in the east side of New York, where he grew up. His parents likewise escaped from the unpalatable reality of their tenement home in their anxious hope of turning their son into a doctor or lawyer. Their hopes, however, were dimmed in the entry of their progeny into the field of journalism.

The first years of his journalistic life were spent in supporting communism by reporting the trials of workers who had been arrested when justice decided it was time for their zeal to be curbed. Shortly after the publication of his book, *The Life and Death of Sacco and Vanzetti*, two self-confessed Bolsheviks who had been electrocuted for political offences, he entered the service of the official Soviet news agency.

When an opportunity came for him to visit Russia as chief correspondent of the United Press it meant the realization of his dearest wish. To him Russia had become Utopia but though he fought to retain his ideals, during the next six years he was finally forced to admit that this brave new world was composed of fallible human beings whose methods outraged his conscience.

In his book he gives stirring pictures of the demonstration trials. We see how the prisoners were pitted against each other under the invective of the judge and against the background of the dreaded GPU. The sight of men pleading guilty, retracting their admission, again confessing their guilt, and the dramatic atmosphere in which the proceedings took place, led him "increasingly to feel the demonstration trials as a hoax—not merely on the outside world which received it as a species of justice, but a hoax on the Russian masses themselves, who were being offered a lightning rod to divert their resentments."

Yet although certain uncomfortable conclusions were raising their heads in his mind he was forced to rationalize the facts of the trials lest his inner conclusions inhibited him in serving the revolution. But these conclusions did not remain buried for long.

With horrified eyes he was gradually awakening to the nightmare of poverty which existed around him—"the poverty that makes the stomach the core of existence, the centre of every waking and dreaming thought, the poverty that makes all other values, art, beauty, ideals, philosophies, an empty mockery."

He visited one of Moscow's "work houses." What he found was so much more loathsome than anything he had ever seen before that it seemed of a different order of horror. He watched the liquidation of the kulaks, he experienced the censorship which controlled all despatches; he became conscious of the constant espionage which caused men to fear friends as well as foes. He reveals the facts of the great famine of 1933.

Through it all he became apprised of the ultimate values which are at the heart of civilization.

No plan for economic salvation must be accepted if it is diseased with disdain for life. Ultimately Russia will not be judged by how much bread it has given its people but by how much freedom, self-respect, justice, equality, truth, and human kindness it has brought into the world.

By refusing to seek refuge in a kind of mental Noah's Ark where the waters of doubt and of question could not reach him Mr. Lyons concludes that the above undefined values have survived and will survive as the ultimate tests of all systems and policies, and that no set back can end the adventure in idealism. That adventure, he

says, began with the dawn of the race, and will continue when the slogans of our own day have been forgotten.

It is a book to be read by all those who desire to know the truth about Russia but more especially by those who still have their visions of communist Utopia and dream dreams of Russian heaven.

P. PITMAN

## THE JEWISH PROBLEM

**The Jew and his Neighbour.** Dr. James Parkes. S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d.

In October, 1930, James Parkes, who was then working for the International Student Service in Geneva, published a study of the causes of antisemitism under the title of *The Jew and his Neighbour*. His experience of European student problems in the post-War years had convinced him that there was hardly any other international question in which the universities played a rôle of such importance as that of Jewish and Christian relationships.

Since the publication of that book two things have happened that have a direct bearing upon it. In the first place, with the advent of the virulent antisemitic policy of the Nazi régime in Germany, what was first envisaged as primarily a student problem has become a world issue of the first magnitude. The second thing is that its author has devoted the eight years that have passed since then to intensive research into the field originally surveyed in *The Jew and his Neighbour*. The fruits of this research may be seen in two volumes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* and *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, which are already acknowledged to be standard works, and in the fact that James Parkes has become Dr. James Parkes.

The Student Christian Movement Press has just published a second and revised edition of that preliminary study, and it is greatly to be hoped that its sale will be on such a scale that a third edition will be called for in a very much shorter period than that which has elapsed since the publication of the first, for this is a book to be read and re-read by all who have any interest in or contact with the Jewish problem. The Press has done its best to ensure a wide circulation by reducing the price from 5s. to 3s. 6d.

Perhaps the greatest tribute that can be paid to its value is the fact that although so much has happened in the antisemitic field since 1930, and although Dr. Parkes has gone so much further in his studies, there has been so little to revise in *The Jew and his Neighbour*. The book has, of course, been brought up to date by taking into account the events of the past five years, and there has been considerable rearrangement of material in some of the chapters, while a certain amount of "cutting" has reduced the number of pages from 202 to 182, but his main theses, and the conclusions which he based upon them, Dr. Parkes has not found it necessary to revise.

The author's approach to the Jewish problem is one which must commend itself to every one who believes that the way to peace lies in the direction of promoting understanding and good will between the parties to any dispute. "We are confronted," he writes, "with a problem of human relationships which, however difficult, we can assume to be capable of reasonable human study, and ultimately of human solution."

The religious, economic, political and "racial" elements in antisemitism are examined with an impartiality and sincerity which are in striking contrast to the exaggerations and misstatements which emanate from antisemitic sources. But this, after all, is only what we should expect from a scholar of Dr. Parkes' stamp, for he is, on his own admission, well aware of the fact that "it is unfortunately true that the best case can lose its entire effective appeal by a single false statement or wilful exaggeration."

His conclusion is that "the Jewish problem will never be solved until antisemitism, as we know it today, disappears" and to this end, "the attack must be made on two fronts."

It is obviously necessary that the lies of antisemitic propaganda should be continually exposed. . . . But this is useless by itself. The enemy must be combated positively also. It is inevitable that the abnormalities of Jewish history in the past thousand years should have produced difficulties of adjustment which require hard work and cooperation between Jews and Christians if they are to be solved.

The matter is urgent. The people to tackle it are obviously those who believe that peace is attainable on a basis of understanding and cooperation. There is no book that will serve them better in the

necessary preparation for this task than *The Jew and his Neighbour*.

WILLIAM W. SIMPSON.

## THE COMMUNIST TERROR

**Europe in the Melting Pot.** By Vladimir de Korostovetz. Hutchinson. 10s. 6d.

As the expression of a dispossessed Ukrainian who lived under the old Tsarist regime, this book is pathetic—if only as evidence how a man's judgment can be so completely blinded by a vitriolic hatred against a certain political theory as to cause him to lose all sense of proportion in dealing with a theme which, above all others, demands the attention of a cool, detached mind.

The writing is hysterical, melodramatic, and irritatingly repetitive; therefore it fails to convince. The author invites us to believe that the way to peace is to intensify nationalism in a world already heated to fever-pitch by an excess of misdirected "national" emotions. Each country is to develop its own "national character" and to decide where its own "national interests" lie (as if this were not already the policy of nations) so that in the end a "real" League of Nations may arise which will learn to settle all differences amicably.

How this happy state of affairs is to be brought about is not at all clear. One suspects that the author is not very clear about it himself. Economic issues, colonial oppression, social injustice—all are blithely ignored in the author's "analysis."

Britain, Germany, Italy, and Franco Spain are all rising paradises. The real villain of the piece is Soviet Russia. One is amazed to learn that nothing this country has done, or is doing, is right. She is fomenting world revolution, she is the centre of discord, internationalism (which, of course, is a deadly crime), and is the spiritual home of "Red scum" throughout the world.

It seems a little hard. It is even more so on such eminently respectable Conservative organs as *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph* when we read reproaches levelled against them on the grounds that they have sometimes actually encouraged the subtle onslaught of bolshevism in various ways. Even pacifists are accused of belonging to the United Front and of being pro-bolshevik.

In short, the plain duty of the "non-communist" nations—which the author hardly bothers to veil decently—is to unite and to engage in a holy war against Russia. It is the only solution to M. Korostovetz's problem.

But the problem is the world's—and its solution is not that of M. Korostovetz.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE

## POST-WAR POETRY

**Poems of Twenty Years: An Anthology,** man, M.A. Macmillan. 2s. 6d.

1918-1938. Compiled by Maurice Woll-

This addition to the scholar's library aims at giving "a survey of twenty years of post-War poetry in England," and contains nearly 250 pages of poems, by 100 authors. It is at once evident that Mr. Wollman has read widely, and is catholic in his choice. There is immense variety in this anthology, but the poems are grouped according to their subject. There are sixty pages of notes and a few questions on the poems.

This anthology, compiled largely for schoolchildren, should give a survey which bears some relation to generally approved literary values. It is, therefore, disconcerting to find that Robert Bridges is represented by one, rather minor, poem, whereas there are three poems by Clifford Dyment. Again, several of the poets, e.g. Thomas Hardy, Ralph Hodgson, John Freeman and Richard Church, have written to much better advantage than is shown here, and it is difficult to see any plan in the selection. That it is possible to compile an anthology based on individual judgment, yet typical of its period, Harold Monro showed in his admirable *Twentieth Century Poetry*.

Yet this book contains many fine poems, and gives a further hearing to poets who have still hardly had their due, such as Dorothy Wellesley, Herbert Palmer, and Edward Davison. Roy Campbell's strident *Tristan da Cunha* and Stephen Spender's *I Think Continually of Those Who were Truly Great*, almost choose themselves.

NOEL HOLMES

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## A Woman's Point of View

# Pacifist Approach to the Uninformed

**W**RITING ten days ahead of publication one is doubtful of commenting on the headline news of the moment. Most headlines do not deserve even their brief life, their purpose being to sell a certain newspaper, rather than inform the public.

But out of these uncertain and fearful days of headline and rumour, one thought has been uppermost in my mind—and that is the urgent need of informing people.

The ordinary man and woman's ignorance of recent history is almost complete. They rely for their knowledge on newspapers, and those few newspapers that inform presuppose a background of knowledge which the ordinary people do not possess.

**C**ZECHOSLOVAKIA was nothing more than a name to most of these before the crisis, and now it is little more than a name, but a name connected with the threat of European war, a name that is being used as a battle-cries.

To those who take a lively interest in politics, the extent of the unpolitically-minded person's ignorance is so staggering as to be unbelievable. Political parties talk of apathy—but apathy is a Siamese twin with ignorance. You have to attack both of these.

There are times when it is best to bend one's efforts to rousing apathy into interest by spectacular or maybe provoking action. When apathy is roused into interest the person becomes conscious of ignorance and is ready and eager to be informed.

But in times of stress, apathy is shaken by the marching tread of events. And it is at this moment that the need—the urgent need—for information arises.

**T**HE ordinary man and woman is bewildered and confused by the press with its headlines, and with the parties with their policies. None of them gives information. They all cry peace, although some of them regard a major war as a necessary preliminary. They all want peace while they insist that bombs and bombers are the best symbols of their peaceful intentions.

Among all these cries for peace, the voice of the pacifist is a small one: a small voice saying with gentle obstinacy that it prefers to sue for peace with an olive branch rather than a bomb.

The reaction of the ordinary man and woman, knowing little or nothing of modern history, is to treat all the canvassers of peace to the same rejoinder—a shut door.

And although we may lament this, and must lament this, we have to confess that, to the uninformed and unconvinced, the olive branches do not make much show among the flags and banners of the peace-through-war-mongers.

Uninformed and unconvinced—and you cannot convince the uninformed person, because his replies to your arguments will be the catchwords of his favourite newspaper, or the secondhand idea, or the cherished prejudice.

**T**HE useful pacifist at the moment is the informed pacifist. How many are they?

There is a growing desire to know about affairs. Listen to scraps of conversation

on buses. They are mostly questions—stupid, fumbling, bewildered questions often—but they indicate a willingness to be informed. Stop a moment at street corner meetings—the speaker who holds his audience has something to tell them.

This is especially a job for the pacifist because the pacifist must, before everything, be insistent that clear and authentic facts are the foundation of his arguments.

He does not need to distort or suppress, that should be the distinction of pacifist views and pacifist propaganda, that it is not shaped by any denominational, party or national frame. And pacifist propaganda, especially now, should provide information that will make possible the formation of opinion, rather than the acceptance of newspaper and party half-truths.

**O**BJECTION may be raised that this is less important than urging people to disarm, to renounce war, and to put Christianity into practice. But it is not a question of prior importance. These things cannot be urged on the uninformed. Our suggestions for the attempted solution of the peace problem cannot be grasped without a background of knowledge of recent history.

I would like to see a literary committee whose job was to bring out, within a few days, a leaflet on the problem of the moment. Not an expression of opinion, but a statement of fact—a clear and comprehensible page out of history, that would provide a foundation for the formation of opinion. It might be necessary, in presenting some problems, to quote extracts of conflicting opinion.

Although this literary forum would be unlikely to present ultimate truth to an astonished world, its habit of uncoloured and unbiased thought, its attempt to present a problem scientifically, its emphasis on the need for information before conviction, would clear the stagnant air in which catchwords and battle-cries flourish.

M. S.

## Where are the Pacts of Yester-Year?

You have taken from the salver in your mother's hall

Two visiting-cards;

And on the back of one you have written with a thick heavy pen:

"I, Patricia Honeyburn, swear eternal friendship with Susan Miles."

And I have taken the other card,

And upon it have written, in spidery and uncertain letters:

"I, Susan Miles, swear eternal friendship with Patricia Honeyburn."

And we have exchanged cards, with eager hands,

Our hearts beating,

Our faces aglow.

But suddenly I have flushed, exclaiming:

"Suppose we can't?"

And we have stared for a moment, helpless, in one another's faces,

Dismayed, perplexed.

Now you have returned my card to me,

And I have returned your card to you;

We have added—

You in your heavy square characters,

I in my spidery scrawl—

In boding parenthesis:

"If possible."

And are you now, Patricia, the mother

Of children who have exchanged eternal friendship cards

With their companions?

—Not having seen or heard of you these twenty years,

I cannot say.

SUSAN MILES

## The Practical Application

### of Non-Violence

By

FRANK REGAN

**I**N spite of a succession of "crises," during the last of which a large section of the press reverted completely to the worst kind of jingoism, there is as yet not the slightest trace of enthusiasm for a war of any kind in this country.

News-reels showing "Britain's might," which at the time of the Abyssinian war would have called forth prolonged applause, are greeted with gloomy silence. The atmosphere in the railway carriages is one of deep depression.

But the fact remains that an ever-increasing pressure of propaganda (no less effective because it is partly unconscious) is being brought to bear on the people to convince them of the necessity for "preparedness," and for complete acquiescence in whatever "defence measures" the Government may propose. And the people as a whole have no strong convictions to enable them to withstand this pressure.

★

**W**HAT is our answer to this situation?

Is it merely to put forward an international policy which cannot be adopted until it has the support of the majority of the people? Is it to spend more and more energy in the invention and carrying out of ingenious stunts in order to force ourselves upon the attention of the public?

I believe we have got to do far more than this. We have got to demonstrate that we can achieve something while still a minority.

**We have got to capture the people's imagination in such a way that they will join in the struggle even if there is no immediate prospect of success.**

How can this be done? I believe the answer is contained in the words "non-violence." We have been apt to think of non-violence only as a method for a nation resisting invasion or oppression. Since we have not yet had to face these circumstances the phrase has tended to become meaningless, and the idea of training ourselves in the method has savoured of smugness and the desire for self-improvement.

★

**A**CTUALLY, non-violence is the one method of struggle which holds any hope for a minority that wishes to change the structure of society so that it is based on cooperation instead of competition.

It is a method which can, and must be brought down from the realms of theory and applied at the level of struggle on which we are at present engaged.

**As soon as we attempt so to apply it, the idea of training ourselves in the method becomes a practical problem which each individual or group can solve in their own way. The important thing is that we should realize the necessity of utilizing this method of struggle.**

To apply the method of non-violence to the present level of struggle means apply-

ing it to discussions, meetings, demonstrations, writings, and every other form of contact which we have with our fellow men. In other words, the present application of non-violence is to propaganda, in its widest sense.

★

**M**OST propaganda, whether for tooth-paste or political programmes, is based on the appeal to fear—either directly in the form of fear of loss (of life, health, comfort, prestige), or indirectly in the form of desire for gain.

Fear is a very powerful motive in human affairs. It can be used, temporarily, to turn people against the idea of war. But it will always tend to lead to anger and violence when their interests are, or appear to be, threatened. Therefore we must find a better motive for our propaganda.

The ideal motive, because it is the true opposite of fear, and because it is even more powerful, is love—which in its best sense is synonymous with non-violence.

To base our propaganda on this motive will involve considerable effort and a great deal of restraint. It means, in effect, cultivating the attitude of mind which is more concerned with understanding the difficulties of our "opponents," than with putting forward our own point of view as something to be accepted without question.

**But unless we are willing to make the effort, and exercise the restraint, we shall inevitably defeat our own object by appealing to the motives which have always led, and must always lead, to violence and war.**

If we can make the effort, we shall be demonstrating the effectiveness of pacifism in action. By so doing we can break through the mental habits which prevent the acceptance of pacifist ideas, and capture the imagination of the people. At the same time we shall be undergoing practical training which will enable us, if necessary, to withstand actual physical violence and oppression.

## STILL GOING UP

The number of public libraries where *Peace News* is available has now reached 363.

Since the last figure we published the paper has been included in libraries at Rawtenstall; Rochester; Uxbridge; and Willenhall.

## A GLIMPSE OF WAR

Following is an extract from a story by "Old Contemptible," which appeared in the August issue of *Thresher and Glenny's "Monthly Miscellanea"* under the title "Memories of Mons." Of the story Mr. C. F. Glenny wrote, in the same issue: "Doubtless readers will concur with me that memories of a great episode have been gallantly revived by a truly gallant soldier."

**I** SAW the men's bodies bend forward in the saddles, and as the horses went down the slope of the hill, I saw the pace increase to a racing "run." Sabres at the "right guard." Lances down at the "charge."

Even while I held my breath in suspense my eyes glued to my glasses, the two forces of cavalry met, and ours went on, with hardly a pause, through them; then what seemed to me but a moment after, they were in among the enemy infantry. A slightly longer pause—then in an almost unbroken line, straight at the guns now only 1,500 yards away before them, the guns, which had already for some moments been flashing rapidly as they sent shells tearing across the short distance between them and that avalanche of wildly yelling, charging horsemen.

### Terrible Slaughter

The shells were bursting in among the charging host in ever increasing numbers, causing terrible slaughter, but nothing could stop them charging "home" now. Shells were also bursting in and around my own battery, but I hardly heard them.

I could not tear my eyes away from that marvellous charge being carried out before me; 800 yards; 600; 500 from those hellishly frantically firing guns; 400 yards, and then, Oh! horror on horror, the charge

had come to a sudden end in a piled up mass of struggling men, and quivering horses, a piled up mass of horror into which the German gunners were sending shell on shell as fast as they could load and fire.

Our gallant cavalry had charged full pelt into two rows of heavy staked and barbed wire which had been played by the enemy infantry as they advanced. Of course, I could not see the wire entanglements, but I was told later by some of those who "came back" that the wire was only some two feet high, but about forty feet deep.

### Unimaginable Horrors

The return of the cavalry was a frenziedly racing, completely disorganized, stampede of mad horses and men, bodies being dragged along still with the feet in the stirrups—men still in their saddles, minus limbs—blind men and blind animals—three legged horses and other horrors unimaginable.

This account is written from notes made at the time on the backs of forms of a signal message pad which I used to write a scrappy sort of personal diary during the great retreat from Mons, and I believe the "return" of our cavalry was the first move to the rear of the old British Army in the retreat which has come to be named "The Great Retreat from Mons."

Get to know  
**ALLY SOL**



## WAS IT IN VAIN?

To the peoples of the world

DOUGLAS GIBSON

says

### "It's Up To You"

ON Monday night I came along Whitehall. Masses of people lined the pathways; in Downing Street the crowds were being told to "pass along, please." Outside the Foreign Office many others gathered. Most of them were quiet—waiting. They had heard that Hitler's speech, which the world so anxiously awaited, was being relayed to the Foreign Office.

I passed on, thinking how tragically insane it was that the fate of millions should depend upon the words of one man. Do not all the peoples of the world desire peace? And if so, why have they not the courage to demand peace from their leaders?

I HAD only to go a little further down Whitehall for a bitter reminder of war: the Cenotaph, with its inscription "The Glorious Dead."

Here were placed many beautiful flowers, huge wreaths, with here and there little bunches of wild flowers. The simple words told their poignant story: "In loving memory of my two dear brothers . . .", "In everlasting memory of two gallant Scots laddies that never came home"; and a bunch of white chrysanthemums with the words "In loving memory of my dear husband, . . . of the Loyal North Lancashires, who was killed somewhere in France. . . . Was it in vain?"

ALL the way home, above the newsboys shouting "Hitler's speech," the roar of the buses, the laughter, the talk, the flashing lights, those words hammered into my mind—"Was it in vain?"

I wondered about the woman who had written that. She was just a name to me, and yet I felt something of what she must feel.

Each year, as the armaments pile up, and the disease of war spreads across the world, this woman, and millions like her, must wonder bitterly if "the war to end war" was not a tragic farce. The pain of her loss must be hard enough to bear, without the additional bitterness that the sacrifice is being made futile.

For now, only twenty years after, we stand again on the brink. Hitler has spoken, but the shadow of war has not lifted.

THERE is so much to be done, so many wrongs to be righted. But war can only add to them. In this country alone, the hospitals are crying out for funds, the distressed areas need help, unemployment must be solved, people's living conditions can be improved. If all the millions spent on armaments could be used for good; if . . . if . . .

If the dark shadow of war was removed, we could settle down calmly to build a new world. It must be removed. It can be removed. War is barbaric; it is out of date; it achieves nothing but death and destruction, and desolation; it is the enemy of beauty and of progress.

THE peoples of the world know this. You are one of millions. If all these millions, in every country, say clearly "We will not fight," there could be no war. Obvious? Yes, but the obvious is often overlooked.

You can stop war. Give your answer loudly and clearly and courageously. Let the world know you refuse to participate in mass murder.

"WAS IT IN VAIN?" It's up to you.

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# Practical Peacemaking: The Christian's Task

IF Europe once again is plunged into warfare, it will largely be the fault of those of us who call ourselves Christians.

We alone have the power of reconciliation that can bring peace. We can be the world's peacemakers, bringing about a spirit of understanding and love between the nations, or we can be so busy with our endless committees and sales of work, or maybe parties and dances (all excellent in their own way), that we have no time for the work of peacemaking, which matters more than anything else today.

We Christians, who have the key to peace, are not using it.

The world is like a dungeon filled with men starving for light, and air, and food—desperate. And we are free, well fed, and comfortable; playing outside like children, and holding long conferences about the best method of unlocking the door, and who should do it. If only we had had the sense to read the directions printed so clearly on the key, the dungeon would have been opened long ago.

### Solution in Theory

AGAIN and again I have seen, through the power of prayer, God working miracles of reconciliation among my own

circle of friends and acquaintances. Difficult customers, who threw me out of their shops and told me never to show my face inside again, have been turned into friends through this tremendous power of prayer.

I have seen men and women, and husbands and wives, who hated the very sight of each other, brought together in harmony once more by prayer.

This power of reconciliation which we have been given is stupendous; yet how

By  
HAROLD JOHNSON

little we use it. How often I myself am too tired at night, or too rushed in the morning, to pray.

How prayer works I do not know, but again and again I have proved that to love your enemies and pray for them is the surest way of turning them into friends. Why don't we use this tremendous power to settle all the problems of life, and especially the international situation?

Surely Jesus Christ's own words are plain enough for even a child to understand.

Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray

for them which despitefully use you and persecute you. (Matthew 5, verse 44.)

### Solution in Practice

WE who live in padded security must start by realizing that those who complain of their existence probably have a good reason for doing so.

It is no good praying: "God blast Hitler and Mussolini and damn the communists. Preserve the *status quo*. I'm quite comfortable as I am and any change would be so uncomfortable."

Jesus had rather a lot to say about people who thought like that.

Surely our prayer should be that Hitler and Mussolini, who are human beings like ourselves, with very much the same temptations as we have, should be given strength to conquer those temptations. That the spark of God which is in every man might grow in their lives, and that they might grow in kindness and generosity and tolerance. That the light of God's holy spirit might grow more strongly in their hearts.

And at the same time we should pray that the men and women (including ourselves) who are the "haves" of this world, should grow more tender and loving and generous toward those men and women and nations who are the "have-nots."

Some profess to find security in piling up vast armaments and in organizing ARP. Others suggest complete disarmament, and others an international police force.

But we have the power of prayer, which is greater than any armies in the world, only we are too lazy and selfish to use it properly.

### 1,000 Wanted

I KNOW, of course, many thousands of sincere Christians are already praying about the world situation. But perhaps, like my own, their prayers have been a little vague or spasmodic. Perhaps the international situation has come at the end of a long list of uncles and aunts. Perhaps the idea of praying for actual people like Hitler and Mussolini is new to them.

Remember, it is just as possible for these men to be converted as it was for Saul to become Paul.

I only want 1,000 men and women who believe in the tremendous power of prayer, and who are willing to spend some part of every day in prayer for real peace, and understanding, and friendliness in this distracted world.

Perhaps we could all fix a definite time, say somewhere between 7 and 8.30 a.m. or 10 and 11 p.m.

If you will help to build up this new order of "peacemakers" please write to me at The Barn, Orwell Road, Rathgar, Dublin. (Enclose a stamp if possible, Irish or English will do. I can't afford 1,000 replies!)

I will try to sort out our various ideas and reply, giving a summary and suggestions for prayer.

But please realize the urgency of the matter, and if you are going to help, do it now—next week may be too late.

As we pool our ideas surely something will grow out of our united prayers, and I feel certain that God will use us to help to bring peace, and love, and tolerance flooding into the darkness of the international situation.

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In this article, with which we do  
not necessarily agree,  
R. R. STOKES, M.P.,  
pleads for

## MORAL REARMAMENT

ALL Christians believe in a supernatural existence and in the fatherhood of God. The trouble is that a great many do not understand, or, if they do understand, do all too little to further the brotherhood of man.

We are being exhorted, at this crisis in affairs, to have recourse to prayer. So be it, but let us realize that like faith, prayer alone will not save us. We must act.

What is surely required now is a realization, by all men of good will, that there is a practical application of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount and that "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" is capable of fulfilment if man will only set his heart and mind to it.

How true is the old fable of the waggoner who, when his waggon stuck in the mud, knelt down and prayed to Jove to get it out. He might have prayed till the crack of doom and the waggon still be there.

God's world is not the kind of a world in which the mere repetition of words will get waggons out of ruts, poverty out of slums or bring economic security with peace to all men. He who would pray with effect must do something to help achieve the object for which he is praying. The most he can expect from prayer is guidance as to the right course of action to follow.

WHETHER war comes on us as a result of this dreadful mess in Europe, or whether it is bought off by throwing another slice of the world's surface to the dictators, let us realize that there is a way out of this lunacy wherein the peoples of one nation are taught that their enemies are the peoples of other nations, whereas, in fact, they have a common enemy—a system which allows a comparatively small group of people to control the earth, with its natural resources, so that they may revel on the proceeds of labour while those

who work, or would work, fare scantily or go without.

The Christian revelation was the doctrine of human equality—of the fatherhood of God and of the brotherhood of man. Socialists are jeered at because they suggest that wealth should be divided more equally than it is between all men. Yet, in contrast, what can be said of a system in which those who do no work receive the greatest rewards, and those who work a mere pittance?

DICTATORS and wars arise from poverty and duress—they cannot survive prosperity. With nature providing in abundance for everyone, it ought not to be beyond the wit of man to arrange so that everyone has enough and to spare of the essentials of life and security in employment. Let us start along the road.

By what road shall we travel? If we are all children of the Universal Father, we are all entitled to the use of his bounty—the earth with its natural resources. No one dare deny that statement. There is a practical way of securing those rights in fairness to all and with injustice to none—namely by restoring to the people their infringed rights to the use of land. We can start at home now.

A BROAD we need a conference of nations where the immediate economic needs of all shall be met in exchange for disarmament and real appeasement.

It needs but the good will of the peoples and their realization that the real problem today is not between the nations who have and the nations who have not, but between the peoples of all nations who have not and those who monopolize and control the natural resources.

Until this maladjustment has been put right there can be no real and lasting peace.



## SPEAKING PERSONALLY

Final article in this series by  
REGINALD W. SORENSEN, M.P.

## PACIFISM AND POLITICS

SHE was the intelligent, charming daughter of an Austro-German officer, but for one primeval moment I was potentially a murderer as she replied: "But yes, of course if the Czechs do not behave we must make war..." She showed her pretty teeth, shrugged her shoulders and looked like poisonous chocolate cream.

"If the Czechs do not behave." Oh! The insufferable, arrogant callousness of this sanction of war as an appropriate punishment for inferiors!

I thought of Marie Antoinette and of oppressed French peasantry and then—of the guillotine. I thought, too, of the Russian Czar, and of his corpse being pitched down a well; of Charles I; of British aristocrats in India; and of Tory men and women in evening dress bubbling with delight in the House of Commons lobby when the Labour Government's Mines Bill was defeated in 1930. Yes, I can have spasms of hate.

Let me interpose certain paraphrases and ask my fellow pacifists to ponder on the relationship of these to loving kindness, peace, and good will.

"You breed of snakes" ("Ye generation of vipers"). "You disinfected sewers" ("Ye... whited sepulchres.") "That rat" ("... that fox..."). I had better not translate, "Woe unto you..."

Let me give another paraphrase, suggested by a non-biblical source—"Socialist generals betray their army." This might evoke the vulgar cockneyism "dirty tykes," but "how deplorable" is more dignified. Crude violence of language is not pacific and should be left to those like General Goering.

velopment and its psychological composition.

Add many drops of self-criticism, shake well and drink with good humour.

THIS produces the following propositions:—

1. We have to behave to our British political friends at least as tolerantly as we behave to our German political enemies.

2. We do not recommend our pacifist cure by "nagging" the other patients as if they were culpable fools and we were intelligent Pharisees.

3. As grapes do not grow on thorns there is little value in criticizing logical efficiency in arms, our chief task being to induce people to root up their own thorns and let the pacifist plant grow in their souls.

4. Men and women can become neurotically obsessed with evil and we must be prepared to resist and frustrate as well as convict them.

5. We are involved in a series of communal loyalties, in which we either stick to democracy or practise subtle dictatorship.

6. To avoid making mincemeat of principles, we have to check the temptation to chop ourselves up into small parties with the possibility of thirty million electors being thrust into the chaos of an all-in wrestling match.

WE are inevitably involved in politics, for this is simply the arrangement of our common affairs, whether it be at 13 Query Street, Muddelbury, Loamshire, Britain, or Europe.

Take the domestic conflict between Mr. and Mrs. Pax at 13 Query Street, concerning the papering of their living room. One chose a blue pattern but the other preferred red. Being equals (even though Mr. Pax may go to prison if he deserts his spouse), they each stand firm.

They could compromise on purple or leave the wall bare; they may seek guidance and discover either divine confirmation of their personal conviction, or a simultaneous call to sacrifice, in which case they cross over to opposite goals; they may collapse into growls and tears; or Mr. Pax may crack his beloved on the head and stick up blue paper while she is senseless.

A trivial analogy? But what, in the least analysis, is war but a conflict of wills? The will of Britain makes the British Empire, with its material advantage and psychological glamour. The will of Germany seeks the same illusory end.

Of course hunger and economic need is a powerful aggravating factor, but even beyond this there is the love of power translated in terms of national pride and glory.

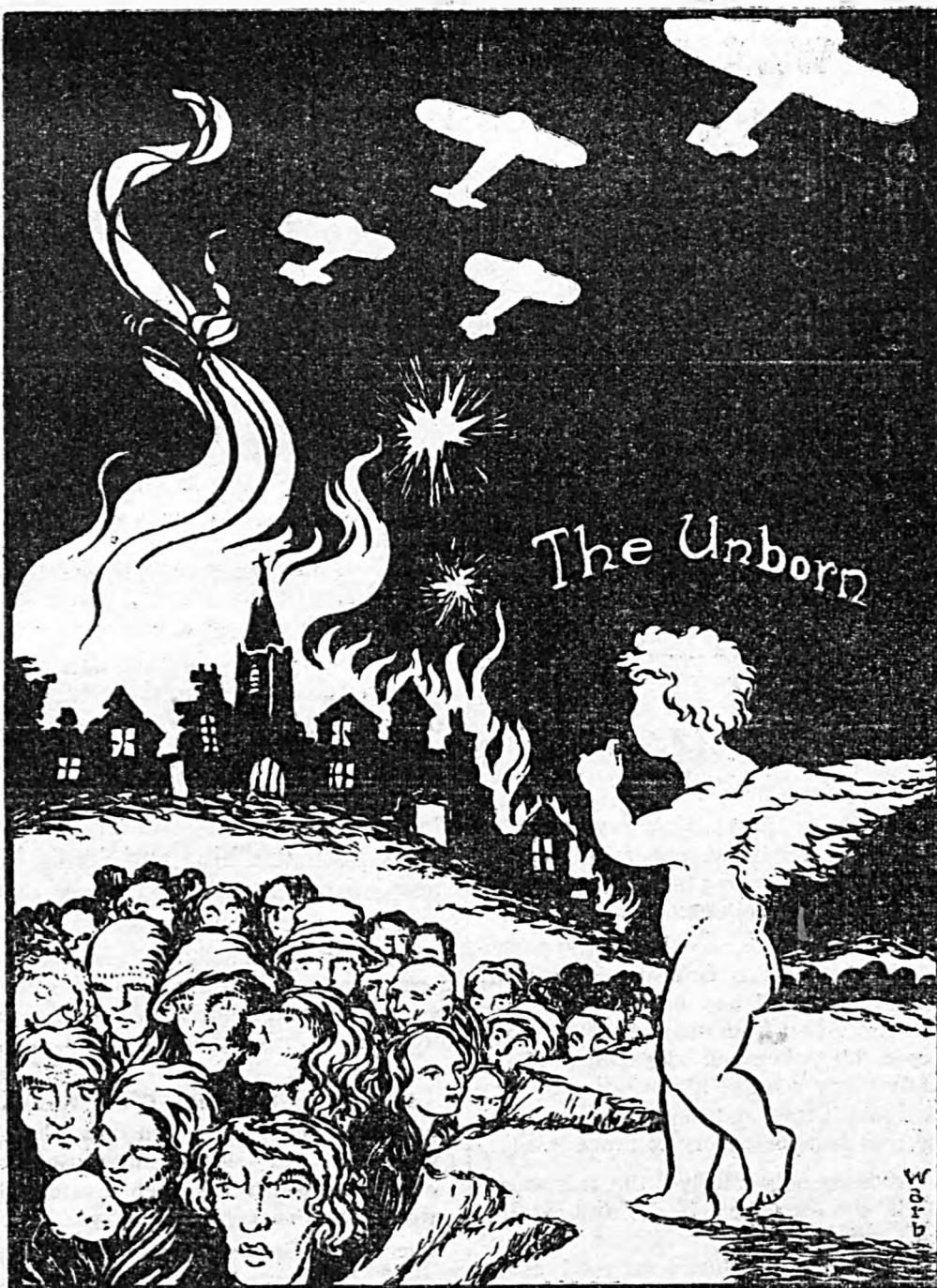
"The virile nation has a basic right and obligation to expand." Hence, the historic clash of rival communities in peace and war.

It is little use repeating evasively we are all God's children and murmuring that absolute love will solve the problem. Mr. Pax did not propose to the worst woman in Muddelbury but, quite rightly, to the girl who most attracted him.

Self-realization is as fundamental as self-sacrifice. This Germany believes it as necessary to insist on her "rights" as Britain has insisted on hers.

Thus we face the possibility of a passionate conviction unmoved either by threat or appeal. Cudgel or olive branch may be equally ineffective.

THIS is the final issue of politics and there is no solution for Caesar save Mars—or Christ. The myopic



Is that the world "so bright and fair?"

Drawn by WILLIAM WARBIS.

will of Caesar came into conflict with that of Jesus, who was therefore slain, though Barrabas was strategically released.

But the eternal meaning of the drama is that Christ and his kingdom cannot be vanquished, not even from the heart of Caesar. Only the essential knowledge of this passion and compassion can save us from despair, and without it pacifism appears nonsense and a humiliating conversion to doormats for the feet of bullies.

We do not see all the intimate applications of this ultimate art, for the truth emerging in human personality has not yet taken full possession. But some know, as all shall know, this truth alone can make us free.

In the Labour movement are my comrades who in greater or less degree have absorbed the ethical principle of socialism. With all their and our limitations they are preparing the soil for a new harvest. It is my obligation to toil with them in grateful fellowship and to appreciate democratically-elected leaders, even if they become involved in tillage which to me is false.

I must affirm and plead the pacifist way and do my utmost to warn and awaken, but I shall the better encourage them to under-

stand and accept this by sharing, as long as they permit me, the burden of tasks that are necessary and good.

This would be unctious presumption were it not a God-given commission bidding me sacrifice my hate, and whatever else hinders equipment for efficient service.

I am afraid this sounds like the anæmic bleatings of a sheep before the onset of a storm. It seems utterly irrelevant now that the foundation of civilization is rocking. Yet, to me it is concerned with the only sure foundation of an age that is yet to be. And against this, hell itself shall not prevail.

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### LEYTON RICHARDS

will be the next  
writer under the heading  
"Speaking Personally"

The first of his three articles  
will appear

NEXT WEEK



## PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

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October 1, 1938

## REFUSE WAR

It seems incredible, so widely known is it (theoretically), that people should need to be reminded, and asked to bear in mind in considering their future actions, that **war settles nothing.**

In case this too is necessary, let us hasten to add that this is emphatically not the mere claptrap of any unthinking slogan-monger. Apart from the fact that the most responsible, sober, and wise leaders of virtually every walk of life in every country have said it time and time again, there are the cold facts of history to prove it.

War is not only utterly futile, it is wasteful in the extreme. It destroys, at this great expense (which would be too great even if it could produce some good result), all that makes life worth while. The very existence of life would be meaningless if this was a completely irrecoverable destruction, either of material or (much more) of spiritual things. But it is a sufficiently lasting and complete loss of life, goods, food, health, works of art, the products of years of toil by hand and brain, culture, morals, truth, love itself to call for a complete refusal of war now and of your part in it.

Moreover, war is made mainly by our elders and fought for the most part, by our youth. Ordinary justice should condemn it on this ground. Above all, war sows the seeds of more wars, as history again shows.

But, in case war should come, there has been a desperate effort to prepare the usual "good cause" for which we should be asked to fight—that is, remember, to kill without settling the issue, to go through what is admitted to be a futile horror, to waste precious time, energy, wealth, to destroy all that makes life worth while, to prepare the ground for having to do it all over again.

What cause could be "good" enough for that? **There is NO good cause for war!**

What, then, of the cause which has been presented to us as a good and sufficient one? It is admittedly not now the cause either of a minority or even of democracy. It is the question of the method to be used in the conduct of foreign affairs. Germany is represented as deliberately choosing the method of the bully. We are represented as conducting our relations with the rest of the world in the most unexceptionable manner.

Strip away what superficial appearances may bear this out, and what is the reality that is revealed? The reality is that relations between the peoples of the world are the business of producing, distributing, and consuming the wealth which the natural world freely bestows for the material existence of its inhabitants and the less tangible wealth of culture and civilization which the mind of man conceives for his spiritual growth. The fact is that the peoples of the world still refuse to carry on that business each for the benefit of them all, but each so conducts it that it will benefit, leaving others to struggle for themselves and the devil to take the hindmost.

If in that struggle we have been success-

**As part of the Peace Pledge Union's campaign to make known the pacifist attitude to the crisis over Czechoslovakia, we publish below a statement which George Lansbury, MP (the Union's President), made to his constituents in Bow on September 20.**

# The Choice Before Europe

**W**E are meeting in hard and difficult times, especially for pacifists. My faith, however, remains sure and certain. I am an unrepentant, determined opponent of war. There is nothing in the world which can excuse or justify the ruthless slaughter still taking place in China and Spain. If these wars are extended, European civilization will be smashed.

The Great War slaughtered and maimed, in body and mind, over a hundred million men, women, and children. We shall never know the cost in human misery and suffering of any war.

**But we do know the Great War did not save democracy, did not abolish militarism, but laid the foundations of evil upon which has been created the world situation facing us today.**

The Franco-German war of 1870-71, the Russo-Turkish war in 1876, the Balkans war in 1912, all created conditions which led up to the Great War. And now today all Europe is again armed to the teeth, prepared for another universal blood-bath.

**SINCE** the last general election, over a period of three years, I have travelled all Europe, and a large part of America, imploring statesmen to act before it

ful—using, in the past, methods at least as brutal as the bully's, but as and when we can afford to the less bloody methods of economic and diplomatic struggle—is it not sheerest hypocrisy, despite the superficial truth, to complain, when the hindmost now threatens to use the devil's methods, that he is a brute while we are harmless, peaceful people?

So long as the world's wealth is exploited by struggling for it, however "peacefully," by the different peoples of the world, the successful, however "legitimately" successful (and, given that method, it is quite legitimate to beat other people to it), are bound to lay themselves open to aggression by the unsuccessful. And, as *The Times* says in another connexion, "it is hardly less culpable to invite aggression than to be an aggressor."

Hence the thorough justification and entire relevance of the Peace Pledge Union's declaration, in the statement which its deputation handed in at Downing Street last week, that the method of conference can only succeed if our Government is prepared "to regard the question of colonial possessions and our own economic policy as open to drastic revision." That revision must be in the sense of sharing the world's wealth, producing and distributing it cooperatively and equitably. Which means being ready to sacrifice something of our privileged position (which alone, incidentally, can justify our asking Czechoslovakia to make sacrifices, even to justice, that will imperil her position).

The demand for that kind of long-term settlement must be the purpose to which any respite must be put. But in any case, respite or war, the use of violence for any cause by any Government has no justification whatever. **It must be refused and your part in it refused too.**

became too late, and come together in a conference of all nations and discuss the problems connected with peace and war, and by good will and common sense find a way out of the muddle and mess caused by the so-called peace treaties.

All statesmen said "Yes, such a conference must be called," but none took any steps to call it, until last week Mr. Chamberlain courageously decided himself to go and see Herr Hitler and endeavour to find a means by which present difficulties could be solved. Everybody, of all sections of people who care for the future of the race, earnestly hopes these discussions will lead to a just, real, and lasting peace.

I have the most profound respect for Dr. Benish and Dr. Hodza, and also for their colleagues and nation. They know my views about war and peace, because I gave a lecture on pacifism in Prague last December.

**We in Britain, whatever our opinions may be, who at the moment are living in safety, dare not advise any small people to accept war as an alternative to proposals now being considered. Many good people advised the Emperor of Abyssinia as to his policy; we all know the result.**

*Do not let us deceive ourselves. The choice before Europe is an effort to secure a lasting peace, or universal slaughter, with a complete loss of a thousand years of progress.*

**I WANT** to make you clearly understand my objection to war.

My conviction is that war is an offence and a crime against God and humanity, that is, a crime against the laws of God; and because it is this, war has always failed and must fail to give mankind peace and security. It is this terrible truth embodied in war and its ghastly futility which the Czechs and the world must face.

Everybody who believes in right and truth and justice must and does sympathize with small nations when they are oppressed. Many of us have given our sympathy to the people of Ireland, India and elsewhere.

**But always we declared our faith, "Force cannot outlaw force; evil cannot conquer evil."**

Do not forget that all South-Eastern Europe is honeycombed with minorities, most of whom desire changes in the settlements imposed upon them by the futile folly of the old men who made the peace treaties. Before a settlement of any of these minority problems can be reached much discussion, much patience and goodwill will have to be exercised.

**I know from what I heard during my**



By **GEORGE LANSBURY**

recent visits with my colleagues that the Balkan States are doing their utmost to face the situation before them through the methods of cooperation and good will.

Everyone desires that the Czech difficulties should be settled in that way; but the decision on these matters is not in our hands.

**W**E pacifists hate persecution, tyranny, and the mailed fist by whomsoever it is used.

We are, however, convinced that if the present crisis ends in universal war our last state will be worse than the first.

It is not fear for our own lives, but the horrible fact that when the slaughter is over nothing is gained—everything is lost. I have seen people like ourselves, in every country of Europe, and in many parts of America; all of them long for peace just as we do; they ask nothing from life but the right to earn their daily bread.

**Unless all statesmen are mad they will, even at this eleventh hour, come together and with one consent determine to find a way out. The deadly disease of power politics, economic rivalry, financial jugglery, all must be eliminated from international life.**

The peoples of the world must unite to secure a new approach, the Christian approach, to these problems, such an approach as will lead the world away from the unreason of war to the way of life, through justice, common sense and reason.

**And please, all who read this remember: our pacifist policy has not yet failed; it has never yet been tried.**

## This Moment Yearning and Thoughtful

By **WALT WHITMAN**

*This moment yearning and thoughtful sitting alone,  
It seems to me there are other men in other lands yearning and thoughtful.  
It seems to me I can look over and behold them in Germany, Italy, France, Spain,  
Or far, far away, in China, or in Russia or in Japan, talking other dialects.  
And it seems to me if I could know those men I should become attached to them  
as I do to men in my own lands;  
O I know we should be brethren and lovers,  
I know I should be happy with them.*



# WAR NO SOLUTION

## A French "Refusal of Obedience"

"Be Really Great"

THE women of France are taking their share in rousing public opinion against war in any circumstances whatsoever.

Some of those collaborating with the War Resisters' International have issued two petitions calling for signatures. They are as follows:—

1. The undersigned associations and personalities demand that our country shall not take part in any war without having first consulted the people by a plebiscite open to women as well as to men.

2. The undersigned women, believing that the governments always have in their power methods for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts, refuse to agree to the massacre of their sons, their brothers, their husbands, and sweethearts as a solution.

The peasants, knowing that corn is needed for the armies, the workers, shells for the cannons, the women workers, the mothers and the teachers, knowing that war cannot be made without their cooperation, now declare that they will refuse this cooperation, moral as well as material.

The great French writer, Jean Giono, publicly declared on September 7:—

"At this moment when emergency measures are being taken in France, without stirring up public indignation, evoking those hours which immediately precede declarations of war, in this very hour, I want to declare plainly and simply that my personal actions will correspond exactly to that which I have written in *Refusal of Obedience*."

### "THE GOVERNMENT ERRS"

Then on September 15 he said:—

"The French Government errs if it believes it has the support of the entire French nation in the attempt which it is making to use the threat of war, and eventually war itself, as a means of political action. The French statesmen, as the statesmen of all countries, are not aware of opinions other than partisan opinions expressed by newspapers and orators in public meetings."

"The followers of all existing political parties of a country do not represent a country, neither numerically, nor by their opinions. There are in all other countries, just as there are in France, millions of people who have joined no political movement and whose voice is never heard."

"Their intentions should not be misunderstood in times as critical as those through which we live. Those men have decided not to fight, whatever the war may be for and whatever orders they may be given."

### UNWARRANTED CONCLUSIONS

"I urge the French Government to re-examine, in the light of these facts, the optimistic, but unwarranted conclusions to which it has been unwisely lead by the reports of the heads of departments (*préfectures*).

"We know that, for men with just ordinary qualities, war is the simplest means to employ. It does not require greatness of mind."

"We demand that those who claim to represent us before the world be really great. We will not permit them to use any but honest means, and only wish to be associated with them in the employment of such honest means."

### ARMISTICE DAY

#### PREPARATIONS

The Women's Cooperative Guild is at present negotiating with the Chief Constable for permission to hold a procession on Armistice Day from Regent's Park to the Central Hall, Westminster, where a public meeting will be held at 3 p.m., addressed by George Lansbury, Mrs. M. Pavitt, Canon Stuart Morris, and Mrs. Theo. Naftel.

Mrs. Sybil White, of Kilmarnock writes in connexion with white poppies, which will be distributed on Armistice Day. She appeals to everybody to order early—the profit will go to the War Resisters' International if the poppies are obtained from Sydney Conbeer, 133 Summersfield Crescent, Birmingham, 16.



The Peace Shop organized by the Bexhill group of the Peace Pledge Union. (See "News from the Four Corners"—page 10.)

## PACIFISM AND THE CHURCHES

"Can War be Considered a Hallowed Use of Force?"

### CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS MEET IN LONDON

IN the confusion of the last few weeks there has come no voice from organized Christianity to indicate that it has anything to say. It is therefore doubly relevant that this congress should meet at this psychological moment."

In those words, Dr. Charles E. Raven introduced at the Congress of Christian Pacifists at Friends House, London, on Thursday of last week, a three-days' discussion, under various heads, of the principles of Christian pacifism and its task. Representatives of many churches and organizations took part in the congress, which was organized by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

"On any modern understanding of the relation of the Old Testament to the New we are bound to take to the Old Testament the revelation of the New," said Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor, speaking on "The Christian Pacifist and the New Testament."

Everything in the New Testament tended to show that Jesus Christ regarded the use of force with profound distrust and that he showed us a better way.

The question they should ask was: "Can modern war, as we know it today, possibly be considered as a hallowed use of force?"

To those Christians who believed that the commands of Jesus were to be explained by the fact that he regarded the end of the present age as at hand, he would suggest that the whole of his teaching was related not to the future of the world but to the nature of God; that, if it applied only to an ideal age, much of the Sermon on the Mount was irrelevant; and that the Christian's duty was not to postpone Christian action until conditions made it easy but to practise it in the face of difficulties.

### THE LAW OF NATURE

"The theology of Christian pacifism," said Dr. C. H. Dodd, in the evening session, is no sectarian theology, but a catholic Christian theology.

"God is truly revealed in nature, and on the plane of history. But in both cases only in part and obscurely, and so that the whole creation waited upon the needed fulfilment in Jesus Christ."

This denied man the right to argue any fitness of war in the social order because the law of tooth and claw was apparent in the natural order.

Five main characteristics of this Kingdom of God in Christ were:

1. It transcends all divisions and limitations among men, and is therefore antithetical to the nationalisms and narrow ideologies for which men wage war.

2. It is a method of unifying, not by coercion but by reconciliation. Neither is it accommodation of competing interests in compromise; but the creation of a new type of

human personality in motive, desire, and sentiment.

3. This creation of new personalities comes about through an energy of sheer goodness: holy love irrespective of deserts.

4. This divine grace is directed toward men as individuals: the antithesis of the common desire of society to sacrifice a part for the whole.

5. This issue of the coming of the Kingdom of God in Christ does not lead to self-contained individualism, but requires a family life for its fuller expression.

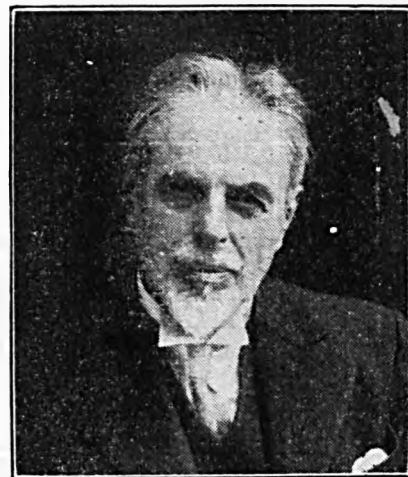
### ANYTHING BUT WAR

Speaking at the Friday morning session on "The Spirit of our Personal Testimony," Mr. Middleton Murry expressed the view that we had now reached the point where we were compelled to hold that any condition of society was better than modern war.

Difficult though it was to define a moment when war ceased to become a grim necessity in which a Christian might take part and became an abomination which he must repudiate, he believed that moment had been passed.

"I do not believe that proposition was true fifty years ago, but I do believe it is true today, owing to the development of the last thirty to forty years in the

## RECTORIAL ELECTION APPEAL



ON Saturday, October 22, the students of Glasgow University will elect a successor to Dick Sheppard, their late Lord Rector, whose sensational victory a year ago astonished the whole country.

His successor must be Laurence Housman, the pacifist candidate in the rectorial election. He was one of Dick's closest friends, and is a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union.

This can only be achieved if funds are forthcoming to ensure that the pacifist case may be worthily presented in print and from the platform. Will you help to make this possible by contributing something, however small?

If Laurence Housman is elected, the pacifist movement will be given new heart to face the appalling problems confronting it at this moment. On the other hand, if he is defeated the national press will disparage Dick's magnificent triumph, attributing it, not to sanity, but to what the *Glasgow Herald* called "an outburst of decent emotionalism."

Contributions should be sent to: Mr. Frank B. Middleton, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. Mark the envelope "Rectorial."

Already Received	
PPU headquarters ...	£ 50
Andrew White, Glasgow ...	10s.
Various Glasgow pacifists ...	9s. 6d.
	£ 50 19s. 6d.

means of mass destruction," he said.

On the same subject, the Rev. William Dick said: "First of all we believe in the reality of God. God is real, the all-loving, the all-good, the all-pure, the all-wise, the all-righteous." That pacifist faith was more than a declaration against war, it was a way of life.

"God's purpose in the universe is the purpose of love. God's method in the universe is the method of love."

"If we take another way than love, we are wreckers of God's purpose. If we take God's way of love, we shall be more than conquerors."

"In any group of human beings there is an inevitable tension between individual liberty and the stability and unity of the group itself," said Dr. Alex Wood, speaking on "Our Christian Testimony to the State."

### DRAWING THE LINE

Whatever the Christian's authority for

The first number of "The Adelphi" edited by Max Plowman is now ready: it includes "The Pacifist Line" by the Editor—an article of interest to the P.P.U.—and "Where Hitler Cribbed It From" which you simply must read if you want a good chuckle.

The October number has forty-eight pages (without advts.) and costs Sixpence.

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# NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

## LONDON

### Uxbridge and Acton

his relation to the State, there was general agreement that somewhere a line had to be drawn beyond which he could not go in his loyalty to the State. It was impossible completely to avoid compromise in this matter, but the difficulty of knowing just where to draw the line should:

(a) not blind the Christian to the fact that the line had got to be drawn somewhere; and (b) make him tolerant of people who drew it in a slightly different place.

"The first testimony of the Christian to the State," said Father Bernard Salt, "is his recognition of the State's mission and authority." This implied a responsibility of service and obedience to the State by the individual.

"The second testimony of Christianity is that there is a limit to the State's competence and authority." This came when the State deviated from its true purpose, which it did in destroying human lives.

For the afternoon session, presided over by the Rev. Leyton Richards, the conference took as its subject "Our Corporate Responsibility in the Fellowship of the Church."

The Rev. James Fraser (Free Churches) emphasised that "we have got to win over our churches to the peacemaking implications that are in the creeds, which we all, as church people, profess." But he pointed out that unless the churches were willing to do it themselves, there was no power on earth which would make them realize the implications of the Christian faith.

The Rev. Kenneth Rawlings (Anglican) also spoke of the failure of the Church to recognize the implications of the gospel. "Christian pacifists," he said, "are the remnants of a church which has been corrupted."

Upon them rested a responsibility which they could not escape, even if they would. Although he was sure that they should strive to spread the pacifist faith within their own denominations, he believed that the first condition was that they should draw still closer to one another in the bonds of Christian pacifism.

### "... IF WE SAW TRUE"

Speaking in the evening session on "Our Christian Effort to make Peace," Miss A. Ruth Fry asked "what should we see if we saw true? Should we see a universe in which matter is the real and the spiritual is a dream; in which cruelty is useful and necessary, and in which friendship and generosity and goodness are illusions?"

"Today," she said, "people say that pacifism is impossible because of the chaos of the world. It is just that chaos which proves up to the hilt that war and all its ways is the greatest failure the world has ever seen and contains in itself a multitude of crimes. That way madness and catastrophe lie."

"Today's chaos is no surprise to those who realize the Laws of God, it is the inevitable result of breaking them. And with equal certainty no continuance in breaking them can produce good results."

Canon Stuart Morris quoted the present world situation as illustrating the need for established principles. "Let us at last recognize that peace can never come in terms of a bargain, it must always come in terms of a corollary," he said, "and that is why your principles must be applicable to present circumstances."

They had got to recognize the fundamental injustices under which people had been living; they had got to recognize that right across Europe there was a tract of people who were not only hungry, but were literally starving.

**They had not only to think of European people starved of their rights, but they had got to think of natives who had never had their rights.**

Stressing the need for a world peace conference Canon Morris said they, as Christian people, had to insist upon the revision of those treaties which were so utterly unjust. They had to recognize that Britain's economic policy largely accounted for the hunger in the rest of the world.

"Peace is not an object to be defended," he concluded, "it is a method to be followed and to be lived."

At the close of this session the chairman, the Rev. Leyton Richards gave some impressions on the recent mission to Eastern Europe on which he accompanied Mr. George Lansbury.

He said that in the Balkans the common people had changed the feelings and the policy of the ministers of State. They were not prepared to revert to war.

Mr. Richards pointed out that the revolution of the people against war was due to the realization that as long as the rearmament race continued the sub-human conditions under which they were living would continue. "Such conditions should be intolerable to the Christian mind," he said.

THESE groups are organizing a relay poster parade for October 15. Paraders meet in the Friends' Meeting House, opposite the Metropolitan Railway Station, Uxbridge, at 3 p.m., and the route, which will follow the main Uxbridge Road, will be as follows:—

Depart Friends' Meeting House ... 3.10 p.m.  
Arrive Vine Lane, Hillingdon ... 3.45 p.m.  
Arrive Church Road, Hayes ... 4.35 p.m.  
Arrive Avenue Road, opposite Fire Station, Southall ... 5.22 p.m.  
Arrive George Street, opposite Police Station, Hanwell ... 6 p.m.  
Arrive Friends' Meeting House, Ealing, opposite Town Hall ... 6.35 p.m.

### INTERVAL FOR TEA

Depart Friends' Meeting House, Ealing ... 7.20 p.m.  
Arrive Granville Gardens, adjacent to Ealing Common Station ... 7.45 p.m.  
Arrive Acton Lane, adjacent to Acton Baths ... 8.10 p.m.  
Arrive Lime Grove, near Shepherd's Bush Metropolitan Station ... 8.50 p.m.  
Arrive Jameson Street, adjacent to Notting Hill Metropolitan Station ... 9.25 p.m.  
Arrive Westbourne Street, adjacent to Lancaster Gate Station ... 9.40 p.m.  
Arrive Oxford Circus ... 10.20 p.m.  
Arrive 96 Regent Street (light refreshments) ... 10.30 p.m.

Volunteers may join or leave the parade at any of the above points. They should be at the point at least ten minutes before the parade is due to pass and should keep a look out for the decorated PPU car.

All sandwich boards and leaflets will be supplied.

All are invited and Ralph W. Mansell, 135 Western Avenue, Acton, W.3. will be pleased to hear from anyone who is able to cooperate

## MIDLANDS

### Birmingham

A MEETING of all Birmingham members was called at short notice for September 21, at Digbeth Institute. Herbert Whatley, chairman of the Birmingham Council, presided, and the meeting was addressed by Canon Stuart Morris and Wilfred Wellock.

Canon Morris confined his speech almost entirely to what had been, and was being, done and thought at headquarters. Wilfred Wellock gave an interesting and forceful résumé of the political situation.

The meeting adopted a statement to be sent to the local press. This reaffirmed the pacifist convictions of members, and urged that Britain should be willing to sacrifice her own imperial interests instead of de-

## CONGRESS MESSAGE

The following message was sent from the Christian pacifist congress:—

We are constrained to present the following affirmations, believing that they are contained in God's revelation to mankind. This revelation remains sure whatever happens in the field of history. In this conviction we can go forward not complacently (for we have responded ill to God's revelation) but humbly and confidently, in view of God's unchanging goodness and of the present signs of his spirit's working.

1. The churches have declared that war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ; yet with few exceptions they have not refused to participate in or give sanction to war.

2. The present situation proved that a lasting settlement of disputes on the basis of military victory is impossible; yet mankind seems unable to meet it except by methods demonstrably futile and repugnant to the common conscience.

3. The recognition of these facts offers a challenge to Christians and an opportunity for a fresh start in international affairs, if there can be found not only a policy but the faith and power to pursue it.

4. This opportunity must not be abandoned even in these moments of crisis. For the Spirit of God is striving in the hearts of all men; and neither men or nations are impervious to active and persistent good will.

5. The policy required would involve first a speedy and sincere examination of alleged grievances in open conference and in a spirit of good will and a just revision of treaties and of the boundaries set up by them; secondly, a refusal to demand from others sacrifices which we are not prepared to make ourselves, and therefore a readiness to submit our own colonial claims and imperial policy to drastic revision; thirdly, a concerted effort to secure the economic reconstruction of Europe by the removal of trade barriers, so as to raise the standard of life for the poor and unprivileged in all countries.

6. A policy is futile unless there is power to fulfil it. This power is contained in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whose Gospel affirms the oneness of mankind and whose world-wide church is commissioned to break down the barriers of race, nation, and class by its ministry of reconciliation.

7. Central to the gospel and typical of his life are the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which reveals God's way, the only way of overcoming evil, and the price which those who would overcome evil, by good must be ready to pay.

8. We appeal, therefore, to the churches to affirm that war is a flagrant denial of the Gospel of Christ and of their own witness; to put away all fear of consequences and refuse to take part in war or sanction it; and to follow the way of the cross in continuous prayer with faith and hope.

manding sacrifices from Czechoslovakia.

### Little Bromwich

At a meeting of the group on September 16 George Lansbury's speech on the Gaumont British News was read to the Group.

It was reported that Peace News sellers at Alum Rock terminus were selling an average of sixteen copies per week.

The next group meeting will be particularly concerned with rounding up the lost sheep, or "Sleeping partners."

### Nuneaton

Because they feel that it is better to have "a few understanding, than many without sound ideas," ten members of the Nuneaton group are starting a study group today. They are taking as their subject Gregg's *Power of Non-Violence*. It is intended that members of the study group will afterward be able to start other groups.

Plans are also afoot in Nuneaton for the launching of Fellowship of Reconciliation group to work inside the churches, while maintaining close cooperation with the local PPU group.

### West Midlands Area Committee

A week-end conference, organized by the West Midlands Area Committee, was held at Bewdley Guest House on September 17 and 18.

Roy Walker and Canon Morris gave a general review of the progress of the PPU, inspiring us to new endeavour with their plans for the future. The pacifist attitude in the present tense situation was fully discussed, and much useful information gained.

The programme included a walk and a trip up the river, while Saturday evening was occupied by a play reading, *Not this Man*, by Sidney Box, given by the Selly Oak group, and a pacifist film, entitled *Hell Unlimited*.

## SOUTH

### Jersey

CANON Stuart Morris and John Barclay are visiting Jersey from October 7 to 9, and during their stay will address a series of meetings.

On October 7 Canon Morris will address a supper table conference to be held in the Plaza Tea Room at 8 p.m. Admission will be 9d. each. The following day a mass meeting will be held in the St. Helier Town Hall, presided over by Deputy Edward Le Quesne. Canon Morris and John Barclay will speak on "Civilization and Peace."

On the Sunday morning at 11 a.m. Canon Morris will be the preacher at a service in St. Paul's Church, and in the evening at 6 p.m., he will conduct the service in the Aquila Road Methodist Church. John Barclay will join Canon Morris in a "question time" to be held in the Aquila Road Schoolroom at 8 p.m.

## SOUTH-EAST

### Bexhill

A PEACE shop and exhibition (see picture on page 9), organized by the Bexhill group, was open from September 15 to 21. The exhibition which was based on the pamphlet, *War, the Personal Problem*, proved an attractive and effective means of putting the pacifist point of view before the public. A large number of leaflets were distributed and many contacts were made, resulting in some new members being enrolled.

The exhibition, which consisted of five sheets of photographs and reading matter, would be loaned to any group applying to Winifred Rawlins, 2 Rotherfield Avenue, Bexhill-on-Sea.

### Eltham

Members of the Woolwich, Sidcup, and Bexley Heath groups took part in a poster parade on September 17. After passing along two busy thoroughfares the parade ended in a cul-de-sac off the High Street, where John Barclay addressed a large crowd. Some inquiries were made after the meeting and it is hoped some new members will result.

## A New Use for Old Stamps

Members in Kingston-on-Thames have struck upon a new idea for meeting their financial necessities. In order to keep their peace book shop going they are starting to collect used stamps (English and foreign). They would, therefore, be very grateful to receive stamps from any readers who do not already save them. Any odd coins left over from holidays abroad would also be welcomed.

Miss F. Campbell, c/o The Peace Book Shop, 15 Penrhyn Road, Kingston-on-Thames would be glad to receive any contributions. She feels that cooperation of this kind between pacifists of different districts might lead to other mutual assistance that would benefit the PPU.

## West Kent Region

According to the region's monthly bulletin for September, a Dartford Peace Council has been formed by the local PPU group. This is now a healthy body consisting of members of the PPU, Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Communist Party, the Left Book Club, the League of Nations Union, and the Society of Friends.

Barnehurst group has been sending representatives to visit other groups in the Bexleyheath area. It has been found a valuable practice, for such visits carry the infection of a good spirit. A useful interchange of ideas has taken place, and it has been possible to arrange future fixtures without duplication of dates.

Eltham workers have been carrying out a house-to-house distribution of leaflets and the secretary has already received four new signatures.

## WALES

### Cardiff

A SPECIAL meeting of members was held in the Friends' Meeting House on September 20, presided over by Mr. Reynolds.

A resolution supporting the statement issued by headquarters on September 12, and agreeing to send copies of it to local MP's, with the addition that members support Mr. George Lansbury in his agreement with Mr. Chamberlain's efforts of personal contacts for peace, was adopted. This statement has already appeared in the local press.

A discussion on activity in this district followed, and then Mr. Fred Beard spoke on arrangements in the event of war, but no definite plans were made.

### Merthyr

At a meeting of members on September 23 it was agreed to form a group. Anyone interested should write to Mr. H. E. Thomas, St. Clare, Garth Villas, Merthyr Tydfil.

### Monmouthshire

Groups are now in existence at Pontypool, Abergavenny, and Brynmawr, and will welcome new members.

## Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

THE warden of Basque House leads a varied life. He has to deal with problems ranging from the current prices of eggs to the receiving of a solemn little deputation from the children; from being called into the infirmary to say if he thinks "this pimple is serious" to showing an important visitor over the house; from attending to the request of a small boy for an elastic band for his cigarette cards ... to helping to break the news of the death of a parent in Spain.

At times he feels that it is a tragedy of his existence that he has so little time for continuous contact with the children. In this mood he envies the handy men of the house who, while they help with the chores, can join in the chatter and chaff.

At other times, when he is anxious to get on with solid office work and is interrupted by a continuous stream of children and staff, he could wish that his contact with his charges were a little less intimate. But then, some of these intrusions are so precious that the notice "No Interruptions" has never been put on the office door.

Strangest of all, the warden of Basque House one day last week became, for a while, "Communication Agent" between Government and Nationalist Spain. For some families, separated by the war, communicate through Basque House, and in this way at least one husband has been put into touch again with his wife whom he had lost in the flights from the invaders.

It is always a nerve-racking moment when the bright voice of the telephone operator says, "Will you take a telegram? It is in Spanish." With unsteady voice and hand, and carefully spelling over the words with the incongruous "A for apple, B for brother, C for Charlie ..." one takes the message.

There follows an apprehensive reference to the dictionary for the unknown word. "Fallecio." The last hope fails. The dreaded task of passing on the news remains.

But on this occasion the unknown word was "canjea," to "exchange prisoners," and by a rapid exchange of telegrams with Bilbao and a town near Madrid we may have ensured the release of a prisoner of war.

(Children's account of their holidays next week).



## The Pink Flag

By GORDON HOILE

The people's flag is palest pink,  
It hangs about the kitchen sink  
In Transport House, and there, they say,  
It dries the plates from day to day.

Then raise the pale pink banner high,  
Within it's shade we'll live and die;  
Though Freedom fade from year to year,  
We'll keep the pink flag flying here.

Look how the tyrant loves its hue—  
The War of Class is lost to view;  
And while he sings its praise with glee,  
He has the Bosses' Men to tea!  
So raise, &c.

It waved above us in the fight  
To save our Island from the might  
Of savage Huns across the sea,  
Who threatened our Democracy.  
Yes, raise, &c.

It proudly waves above us still,  
As once again the call is shrill  
To cease dissension in our ranks,  
Prepare to earn the Empire's thanks.  
Ah, raise, &c.

It suits today the Red and base,  
Who seem to have no Pride of Race,  
To scowl before the rich man's smile  
And seek the emblem to defile!  
But, raise, &c.

With heads deep-buried in the sand,  
We shake the bosses by the hand,  
And, as they smite us in the rear,  
We know the rosy dawn is near.  
Then, raise, &c.

## Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 7



Chaplain: Where did you get that—er—misguided publication?  
Prisoner: It was given to me by a visitor, who happens to be a Christian.

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.

## Twenty-One Years Ago

From the New Crusader,

October 5, 1917

J. B. SAUNDERS, arrested in May, 1916, was taken to Edinburgh, where he gave in, joined the RSF, and was promoted eventually to lance-corporal. The conviction which had never entirely left him, that it would be wrong for him to take human life became stronger, and when sent home on furlough in October, 1916, he absented himself, and was rearrested and taken to Portobello, where he was sentenced by court-martial to one year's detention.

He served three months at Barlinnie Military Detention Barracks, was then returned to Portobello, and from there sent to France, where he was court-martialled for refusing to carry equipment, given seven days' detention, sent to Alexandria, which he reached on April 14, 1917.

Extracts from a letter from J. B. Saunders to his wife, written from Alexandria, August 26, 1917:

I was kicked out of Gabarree Prison on Saturday, August 18, and since then I have been in this camp. I want you to understand once and for all that I am doing nothing. I will not submit to conscription. . . You remember I said I would face the music. You may believe me when I say that I am not afraid of anything the military can do. I have been in chains and handcuffs, crucified to a tree full in this broiling sun nearly every morning and evening, for five months bread and water and solitary confinement.

I refused to do any work whatever, so I leave you to guess what five months alone in a cell doing nothing is like. Seven times I went down with dysentery, and seven times I managed to get on my feet and face the music. I fainted and had to be driven away in a barrow.

This tropical sun and chaining nearly drove me mad. I stuck it and got finally bowled out, and was sent to Nineteenth General Schools Hospital for seventeen days. I was offered RAMC work. I refused it and asked to be sent back to prison to do full six months.

I left hospital next day, and was doing seven days number one PO chained up in the sun, &c., when suddenly I had the chains taken off and I was released. They have discovered at last that they cannot break me. . .

I am determined to sacrifice all rather than give in. Many times I thought I should hang in the sun and die. I pleaded with the sentry to shoot me. I cannot tell you the misery of it all. . . I'll die fifty times rather than endorse the wicked thing. I have several friends here.

If I am to be flattened out they can do it in jail. They can have my body; my mind I would rather destroy than allow the military cult to take it. . .

## Letter from the Editor

17 Featherstone Buildings,  
London, W.C.1.

WHAT is "public opinion"? I think it would be much easier to give a definition that would satisfy an etymologist than to say, on any given issue, at any given moment, just which of the many current opinions constitutes public opinion!

There have been occasions, of course, when it was reasonably clear what public opinion stands for. I think the rejection of the HOARE-LAVAL proposal for the ending of the Abyssinian dispute could fairly be described as such, although I am quite prepared to be told that not a few people felt all along—and do still—that those proposals would have been better accepted.

But what of the crisis that has come to a head this week? Although I think there can be no doubt that, much as we may deplore it, public opinion has, by degrees, come to the position of supporting war against Germany if she invades Czechoslovakia, I very much doubt if this was the case, say, a fortnight ago.

That, of course, is only another way of saying that the issue has become clearer from being a question of the self-determination of a minority (over which any sincere, or even theoretical, democrat could scarcely fight) it had become, a week ago, one of whether force was to be used for its own sake—with obvious implications (which stirred even an isolationist like Mr. L. S. AMERY to write to *The Times* about "only one answer to that from a brave and free people.")

### Conflicting Experience

BUT in less certain cases, is not our estimate of what constitutes public opinion at least liable to be coloured by either our associations or our wishes or both?

I have been led to this question by my experience of certain individual opinions about public opinion during the past few weeks.

Before the hysteria had attained anything like its present proportions, a business man who, though no pacifist, is a remarkably progressive, and certainly not bellicose man, confessed to me, while admitting that it sounded an awful thing to say, that he really felt it would be better for this country to go to war with Germany than to give in to any more of HITLER's demands.

That was the first such man-in-the-street view I myself had heard, though, of course, I knew that there were those who were making it their job to influence the man-in-the-street in that direction. The next I heard was from a reporter of the Liberal STARMER group of newspapers, who assured

me that there was a tremendous volume of opinion in the country taking that line.

It was, I admit, later, when the hate-mongering had done some of its awful job. But I couldn't help comparing it with the very real, continuous, and apparently unanimous experience of the Peace Pledge Union, and other, speakers that the people of this country, as a whole, did not want war at all. Were they just the opinions of different publics, or coloured by the views of the "mass observers"?

I am still more impressed by the PPU speakers' experience than my professional colleague's—at least so far as feeling up to about a week ago is concerned. But it just shows, not just what propaganda can do, but how it can turn people from their genuine feelings into an entirely artificial one.

### International College

ON page three you will find an account of an international college in Denmark. It was sent by a Scottish reader who has recently returned from a three weeks' stay at the college. This was the seventh occasion on which he had acted as a visiting lecturer, the first being in 1924.

### Cycling Abroad

WITH D. C. Goodson's article which appeared in last week's issue under the heading "Get to Know Those in Foreign Lands," still fresh in their minds, readers will be interested to learn of a small booklet of hints, which for some time he had considered publishing, written in a chatty style, and incorporating some personal experiences, which should prove of assistance to travellers abroad.

He writes to tell me that the suggestion has had the most unexpected results. A letter to the National Cyclists' Union mooted the proposal, was answered by a counter proposal asking him to be adviser, or consultant to them on foreign travel.

He has since arranged to go to the States and Canada at Christmas and visit schools and colleges on the way round (cycling) from Charleston to Los Angeles, from there to Vancouver, then from Winnipeg to Chicago. He intends to bring out a monograph on "A Teacher's Impression of North American Education."

### Puzzled

J. L. BRUIJN writes from 's Gravenhage, Holland, to inform me of a new paper, which has just been published called *Evangelio kaj Socio* which in English means "Gospel & Society." That was all very well, but he wrote in Esperanto! That caused an even greater commotion in the

office than usual—nobody knew any Esperanto.

But of course I readily found help in the direction of the PPU members.

### Children's Outing

CHARLES Stuart, of "Good Companions" fame, has written to say that "the warmest thanks of the 'Good Companions' are due to members of the Kingston-on-Thames PPU group and the Adult School, for their splendid cooperation when they entertained a motor coach of kiddies from unemployed homes in the East End to Bushey Park."

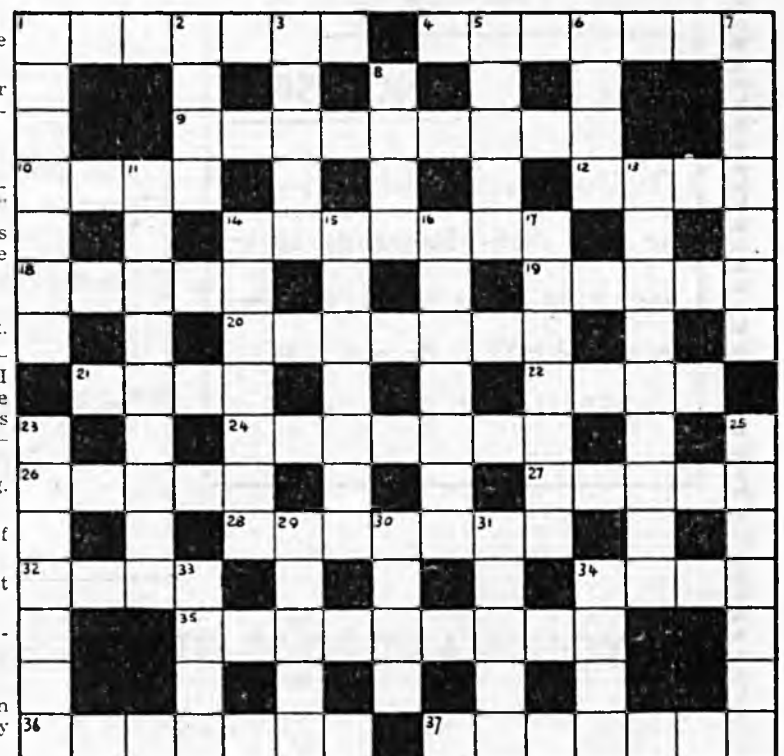
He enclosed one or two snaps taken on the outing, which revealed the obvious excitement of the whole affair—there wasn't one case where all the children sat still.

The excitement did not finish with the outing, however, for once back in Kingston the children were given a feed which was followed by more games and a ventriloquial show.

## FOR YOUR AMUSEMENT

### ACROSS

- This is in the middle of things.
- Brassfounder — or the night watchman's comfort?
- Adorns
- "Look on this picture, and on —"
- This kind of bill is returned by the jury.
- Set in the ground.
- A saucy movement.
- Polonius "did — Julius Caesar; I was killed in the Capitol; Brutus killed me." — (Hamlet.)
- Rather threatening, this.
- Hold back. Part of a plant.
- The son of 25's first part.
- Highly concentrated.
- Positions.
- Of course it's taken notice of—it's very well known.
- Being this was important to a Wilde character.
- Unfasten.
- The lowest of the low—yet it's always on top.
- This is really a great hardship.
- Seen on horseback—the point is at the end.
- Owing to our elders and betters?



### DOWN

- Touch (the surest touch is the second part).
- Hardly a fox's pace, though you might think so.
- Cancel.
- "Home on the —"
- Enthusiasm.
- Says it again.
- The sign of 20.
- Cut off by the surgeon.
- We believe this describes the pacifist's attitude to war.
- You must keep this.
- He takes the air.
- To rout utterly.
- A bit of a come-down.
- Famous wartime statesman.
- It's very hard—to
- be the first of men, and the most industrious of creatures.
- Something wrong with this lady?
- Trim.
- One of forty in England.
- "— Sesame."
- There should be plenty of ginger in this card game.



## Group Notes

## "FORTY YEARS ON..."

I AM often accused of being an optimist!

It is sometimes difficult these days to discern the silver lining to the cloud, but at the risk of being called a fool as well, I want to point out one or two hopeful signs, so that together we may make it possible for others to throw off the cloak of despair that seems to stifle action and deaden hope.

Looking back on the eve of my forty-first birthday I am encouraged to look forward to my eighty-first! Three years after I was born, the Boer War raged but I was too young to protest. There was, moreover, no pacifist movement at that time. Women were chattels and the Labour Party was scarcely conceived.

By the time I was nine, I was helping my grandfather to put the Liberal Party into being (and it swept the country that year!)

By this time, also, all sorts of impossible things were happening. Men were flying in heavier-than-air machines; wireless was no longer the madman's dream; women were openly saying they were equal to men (and secretly that they were superior).

The years between 1906 and 1914 saw more changes still, and then the War came. For four years the world became a madhouse, but there were thousands of people who spent the time planning for peace, and who refused to believe that all was lost.

By their courage and devotion they inspired thousands of others in the years to come. They were optimists who still retained the vision of the shape of things to come.

Since the War, the growth of the

By John Barclay

pacifist movement has been astonishing. From a mere handful of despised idealists, it has grown to the present time when it has become the great movement to which we belong.

The days ahead are full of trouble, but I am still an optimist and believe that we are only at the beginning of a new era. Our duty today is to be as sure of the future as were Keir Hardie and Mrs. Pankhurst in their day.

My optimism is based on a belief that the human spirit can overcome all opposition to its progress—on a faith that remains cheerful in spite of Hitler and Colonel Blimps, and is the optimism that is shared by millions of unknown people who have built in the past for a future they never expect to see.

Forty years on, I expect to hand over the baton to my son who will wonder why we talked of the end of civilization, for he will be enjoying the results of our service.

Sunday, October 2.—The Peace Pledge Union "expects every group this day to do its duty," which being translated means that on this day the whole country should be covered by a series of open-air meetings, putting forward the idea of a world conference before, instead of after, the war.

Writing, as I am, on Monday, it is dangerous to prophesy, but I do believe that there will be a breathing space in which to mobilize public opinion along the lines of George Lansbury's plan for a European settlement.

Will group leaders please write for literature to follow up this opening day's work so that there is no-one in their district who is not aware of the Peace Pledge Union and its point of view.

## Thirty Children in Need

WITH the coming of autumn and winter the eighteen boys and twelve girls, for whom the War Resisters' International is caring in the Spanish Children's Home, Prats-de-Nollo, France, are in urgent need of warm clothing and strong boots.

They have had no new clothes since they went to the home—nearly a year ago. Contributions for the purchase of such things as they need, or used garments still in reasonably good condition, would be gratefully received.

Which child will you clothe?

## GIRLS

Name	Length of foot	Age	Height
1. Maria Alvarez ..	9½	12	57
2. Pilar Budria ..	8½	12	53
3. Africa Alvarez ..	8½	9	51
4. Lola Romaguera ..	8	9	49
5. Francisca Calahorra ..	7½	5	44
6. Blanca Romaguera ..	7	6	44½
7. Aurora Alvarez ..	9½	17	59
8. Carmen Calahorra ..	10	12	58½
9. Elena Budria ..	9½	13	60
10. Irma J. Oca ..	10	16	63
11. Coucha Oca ..	9½	16	61½
12. Santiago Calahorra ..	10	13	58

## BOYS

Name	Length of foot	Age	Height
1. Jorge Planas ..	10	11	59
2. German Monter ..	11	10	51½
3. Gregorio Calahorra ..	9	8	52
4. Jaime Planas ..	10	12	58½
5. Tomas Guillen ..	7	5	41½
6. Miguel Romaguera ..	7½	6	44½
7. Eduardo Schauer ..	8	10	48
8. Luis Schauer ..	7½	9	66½
9. Santos Vazquez ..	9	5	54
10. Vicente Budria ..	8	10	49
11. Vicente Calahorra ..	9	10	51½
12. Antonio Alvarez ..	9½	12	57½
13. Jaime Alvarez ..	8½	9	49½
14. Manuel Moreno ..	9	10	55
15. Armando Grechiaga ..	9½	9	56
16. Helio Brocca ..	9	8	51
17. Fernando Oca ..	10½	14	65
18. Gustavo Grechiaga ..	10½	15	65½

Gifts of money and new clothing should be sent to the honorary treasurer, A. Ruth Fry, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex. Articles of used clothing should be addressed: Messrs. Davies, Turner & Co., Ltd., Packing Department, Taylor's Buildings, Ranelagh Road, Pimlico, S.W.1, and marked "WRI—for Spain." Please also advise the WRI at Enfield that your parcel has been sent.

## The Notice Board

## Meetings

Open-air meetings every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. on Whitfields Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 25, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Volunteers to act as stewards should present themselves at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street (near Ludgate Circus) at 6 p.m. sending in as soon as possible a promise to do so.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

## "Peace News" Sellers Wanted

London, W.1.—On October 8 from 96, Regent Street, between 5 p.m. and midnight.

Cardiff.—Meet on Fridays and Saturdays at Peace Stall, Central Market. Assistance also required to keep stall open on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Write Miss E. M. Bush, 15 Romilly Road, Canton, Cardiff.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.—Every Saturday at 3.30 p.m. Meet at Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street.

Birmingham.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30—8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3, Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Huddersfield.—Volunteers wanted on Saturday afternoons or evenings. Write Elizabeth Wilson, The Brown Owl, Woodfield Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield.

Sheffield.—Write to Geoffrey Pickup, 24 Stanley Road, Sheffield, 8.

Glasgow.—Every Saturday from 8 p.m., outside Regal. Write R. Speirs, 173 Thomson Street, Glasgow, 1.

Two hundred volunteers needed for mass selling in the West End on October 8. Further details later.

Leeds.—Every Saturday afternoon. Also house-to-house selling at any convenient time. Write J. Michael Rosenblum, 4 Grange Terrace, Chapeltown, Leeds, 7.

## Poster Parades

London, W.1.—There will be special parades from 96, Regent Street on October 1 at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m. Also on October 5 at 6.30 p.m. and 7 p.m.

On October 2 three parades will be organized from Golden Square (near Piccadilly Circus) at 2.30 p.m., 4 p.m., and 7 p.m.

## Miscellaneous

Westminster group is holding a Jumble Sale on October 15. Please send anything saleable to W. J. Gilmore, 6, Bexborough Place, S.W.1, or it can be collected on receipt of a postcard.

Young German needs offers of hospitality for a month or two, or even part of that time. Willing to teach French or German in return. Replies to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

## "Things we want you to know"

OCTOBER 1st, 1938

## A REMINDER

WE HAVE IN STOCK (among many others)  
THE FOLLOWING BOOKS:—

"Let us Honour Peace" Written by a schoolmaster, a lawyer, a doctor, and a clergyman	3/6	"Ends & Means" Aldous Huxley A book to be read—re-read and thought about	8/6
"More Sheppard's Pie"	3/6	"War and Democracy" Essays on the causes and prevention of War	10/6
"The Human Parson" (both by Canon Sheppard)	2/6	"Challenge of the East" By Dorothy Hogg A vivid picture of Japan, India, and China	3/6
"We Did Not Fight" (1914-18 experiences of War Resisters) A most interesting and informative book	3/6		
"The Roots of Peace" By H. M. Swanwick Sequel to "Collective Insecurity"	3/6		

PRICES DO NOT INCLUDE POSTAGE

## OUT OF DATE?

NO, SIR!

The Leaflet you're tired of seeing  
on your shelf—Somebody never  
saw it or even heard of us—  
AND WHY? Because YOU  
LEFT IT ON THE SHELF

## "THE PEACE

## YEAR BOOK"

CONTAINS INFORMATION  
FOR SPEAKERS AND OTHERS  
WHO DESIRE FULLER  
KNOWLEDGE

Incidentally, it's very encouraging

PRICE 2/- Postage 4d.

## "IF YOU WANT TO BE FIT"

6d. per 100

4/- per 1000

This is a clever and humorous illustrated leaflet,  
with a clear invitation, and has the advantage of  
being very short, whilst being printed one side only,  
the reverse can be used for local announcements

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION  
MANIFESTO

The display and distribution of these should be the  
subject of a specially organized effort in every area

POSTERS - 2d. each

LEAFLETS 1/- 100, 7/- 1000

FOR YOUR NEXT PUBLIC  
MEETING

Buy

Gramophone

## A 12" RECORD

on which Dick Sheppard  
tells the Story of the  
Peace Pledge Union

Price 2/6

Post and packing 9d. extra



# Dear Sir . . .

## THE CZECHOSLOVAKIA CRISIS

MANY of your readers must have been profoundly impressed by Miss Storm Jameson's article of some weeks ago. I read it the day after I had left Czechoslovakia. I could still hear those last farewells—"You will be with us, won't you?" "Surely England cannot desert us?" And I realized fully for the first time what pacifism meant.

I do not altogether blame myself. Probably I have been guilty of a serious lack of imagination. But the fact remains that I had imagined myself in some future war beset by propaganda, asked to give myself up to irrational hate, refusing to do so.

The dreadful difficulty I now face is the realization that men do not fight because they hate, but because they love. The pacifist must stand aside and see better men than he die, and die without hate in their hearts.

I found scarcely any hatred among the Czechs. If they fight it will merely be because they think there is something worse than war and that that something is represented by Nazi Germany.

There is no answer to this except the answer of Christ. It is no answer to talk about "the Czechization of German districts."

Pacifists in their eagerness to see both sides of a question are sometimes too prone to hand themselves over to the propagandists of both sides to believe both.

The Czechs are not perfect (who would be after hundreds of years of Austrian repression?), they have made mistakes (as Dr. Benesh willingly admits), but in this struggle they have infinitely more right on their side than their opponents. Let us realize this. Let us also realize that this is no local struggle, but the vast battle for the domination of a continent, and then give our answer.

If England goes to war it will admittedly not be solely for the independence of Czechoslovakia. We shall be fighting for our position in a system of power politics.

But that makes our answer no easier. No pacifist method has yet been perfected in this country to counter Hitler. If we do not oppose him by force then we must be willing to see all that we love and value go under for at least a generation. Can we face this?

I know what Christ would have done. In his time the Jews must often have felt their culture and civilization was in danger of being swallowed up by Roman domination. But there can be no doubt as to the Christian method in face of that challenge. It is a frightfully difficult answer. We do not want more reason but more steadfastness. Can we rise to such a dispassionate judgment?

KENNETH F. NICHOLSON.  
Reckitt House, Leighton Park, Reading.

In this time of crisis it seems to me there is a great deal of confused thinking in regard to peace. I see not the smallest reason to congratulate ourselves on the present "peace," and consider that our leaders' call at Downing Street, to strengthen the Premier in his avoidance of war, is liable to serious misconception.

Sincere pacifism is the creation of a genuine peace. Staving off war is not maintaining peace, and on the contrary is most liable to increase the obstacles to it. Trouble postponed has to be met with accrued interest.

Fear and the causes of fear must be removed not enhanced, else there is no peace. Recognition must be given to international law and the rights of weaker nations as against stronger.

Gregg wrote that cowardice is worse than violence. He was right, for physical suffering is a lesser evil than declension of moral principle. And Huxley wrote that means condition ends. I would couple with that motives condition ends, and much more so.

The avoidance of hostilities through panic fear, and at the cost not of our own property but of that of a good and honourable friend, can inspire neither respect nor faith and provides no hope whatever for the future.

Even if the Czechs had treated the Sudeten Deutsch worse than they have done to make them yield to the ruthless insistence of brute force, it is utterly wrong in principle and a precedent pregnant with incalculable potentialities of evil.

We have no moral right to dictate to another nation that it sacrifice itself—and unwillingly—on the altar of our conven-

ence. If ours is to be the gain then ours should be the sacrifice. France was bound by treaty to share their fight so had some claim to choose the conditions. But what right had we?

And what is this "peace" that the Premier claims to be maintaining? Is frightened submission to a bully "peace"?

I want peace, none more so, and am prepared to make sacrifices for it, but today we have made the sacrifice, a bitter one for it has cost our good name among the nations, and in return we have gained no peace, having only cleared the path of an insatiable conqueror to greater triumphs.

If pacifism and the PPU are to retain any reputation, in this time of national discredit I beg our leaders to speak now and condemn peace at any price which is no peace, and call for courage, loyalty between the nations, and observance of international law.

F. E. DEWAR.

1a Luxborough House, Northumberland Street, W.1.

This crisis in the life of Europe, and the whole world, though it may end in avoidance of immediate war, contains a grave warning to all who associate themselves with work for peace; and particularly to members of the Peace Pledge Union.

Primarily it has clearly demonstrated the utter hopelessness of depending upon national strength in armaments as a deterrent, or preventive of active warfare. It has also indisputably discredited that plausible policy—collective security based upon armed force.

The plausibility of collective security constitutes its menace and danger to all effort to exterminate militarism, for I find that there are nominal members of the PPU (I have met a number), who still dally, and, in some cases, express their entire agreement with it.

In the face of this ignominious collapse of the British Government (not to mention France), armed "to the teeth," at the cost of £1,000,000 a day, for the sole purpose (according to the protestations of our "protectors"), of defending democracy, and preventing armed aggression, is it possible for reasoning creatures to remain in a state of delusion?

Britain and France, having refused to cancel the Versailles Treaty, and having rejected for nearly twenty-one years the many opportunities to meet Germany in a spirit of reason and justice—and, instead, threatened, and piled up armaments with accompaniment of ARP, now discover that the threats, the armaments, and the ARP are useless! Need more be said?

Another very important point arises out of this military mess. We who work for peace—not avoidance of war—cannot, and must not associate ourselves with Mr. Chamberlain and the cabinet in their policy of sheer expediency: for they are now merely wriggling out as best (or worst) they can from the consequences of their reliance upon armaments.

The ultimate effect of these tactics will be the raising of higher barriers against the possible coming of sanity and peace. This avoidance of war has only one value: it allows us a "breathing space" in which we must work strenuously for international cooperation.

Let all in the PPU remember that consistency, and accuracy of thought are essential to the existence of the PPU. Without them the "salt" will "lose its savour," and our influence for peace will fail.

E. E. BRISCOE.

Littlecote, Hever, Eden Bridge, Kent.

On the front page of this morning's (September 20) *News Chronicle*, I notice the following beginnings to sentences:—

I understand that . . .  
It is understood that . . .  
It is pointed out here that . . .  
I learn that . . .  
I am assured that . . .  
Presumably . . .  
It is still uncertain what . . .  
It therefore seems probable that . . .  
It is held in quarters particularly well informed in Czechoslovakia that . . .

Now, I suppose they hope I'm as green as they would like me to be! But you know I've just a shrewd suspicion that nearly all these sentences are intended to influence my mind and make me think the way they want.

One thing I must admit, they really are clever, as they certainly do take in the vast majority of folk. Nearly everybody is thoroughly suspicious of Germany now and no amount of argument or statistics will touch them.

Once again, thank God for *Peace News*. All I say is—keep it clean and true and avoid bitterness and sarcasm.

Wishing you all good thoughts and peace of mind,

BILL GARBETT

21 Wyckham Close, Northfield Road, Harborne, Birmingham 17

If one man is a devil and deserving of severe punishment, is there the slightest reason for thousands, perhaps millions of innocent people to be murdered, maimed for life, choked with gas, or driven mad with terror?

Naturally, I think of my own countryman first, but this applies to the peoples of all nations throughout the world. We read and know what is happening in Spain and China at this very moment, and instead of showing them an example of peace, we talk of making matters ten thousand times worse by entering into a world war.

I am so tired of that stupid argument, that we have to punish crime in civil life, and that war is the same on a larger scale. This to my mind, is absolutely beside the point; and people should not allow themselves to be deluded by it.

In civil life, we punish the individual, and rightly so, to preserve order and peace in the community, but we do not out of spite, destroy all the inhabitants of the street in which he is living, or the town or county in which he lives.

If it were a question of punishing Hitler, and anyone else who was a menace to civilization, I would be among the very first to uphold the suggestion; but that the innocent should suffer—no! definitely and utterly, no!

I am amazed to see that a certain section of our countrymen and women are actually clamouring for war. I can forgive the young people, those who cannot remember 1914; for we too were young then, some of us very young, and we did not feel things in the same way. We had had no previous experience of modern warfare, we thought it was going to be rather glorious, we were fighting a noble cause, a war to end wars, and that it would probably be over by Christmas. We have learnt our mistake. No war ever ends war; it only starts another.

Is it any consolation to the average man or woman, blinded, limbless, or driven mad, to know that their country has still retained its prestige?

It is up to us, the man and woman in the street, to prevent this happening, even at the eleventh hour.

E. CONINGSBY (Miss).

17 Church Lane, S.W.19.

Dr. Buchman says "We can, we must, and we will generate a moral and spiritual force that is powerful enough to remake the world."

I am not a "groupier" but it seems to me that what Dr. Buchman says is surely what the world needs to raise it out of the awful mess it is in. The nations of the world—our own included—do not follow the scriptural injunction that "righteousness exalteth a nation"; and until they do we shall not get much nearer the goal we all desire.

We need to live in the power of that spirit—the spirit of Jesus Christ—that takes away all occasion for war or any other evil.

A nation possessed of that spiritual force that Dr. Buchman mentions would revolutionize the world. We should indeed see the end of this useless resort to physical force.

W. H. MARSH.

Springfield, Oaken Grove, Maidenhead.

### LABOUR AND PACIFISM

I WOULD gladly accept your offer to state the opinion of a rank and file of the Labour Party on the situation in Czechoslovakia at the time of writing.

To me, the issue cannot be as clear as it is (perhaps) to the pure pacifist. While I will not kill, or help kill consciously, innocent people, I am not satisfied that publicly pronouncing this will prevent war breaking out—possibly the reverse. Therefore, I reluctantly and hesitatingly support the Labour Party's official policy.

The Labour Party, I am satisfied, is the only practical available organization in this country for introducing socialism, and I am sorry that others—I.L.P., communists, pacifists, intellectuals—will not help me in the party balance the tendency to belligerency which psychologically is to be expected with certain of our members.

I am sorry the Labour Party does not put more emphasis on the economic solution, but it has, unfortunately, as a potential government, to carry the weight of false steps taken by previous governments. Even within this limitation more emphasis could be placed on the factors of imperialistic domination—Versailles, encirclement, insincerity, &c.—if some of the socialist members of the PPU could vote with me on resolutions for submission to the Labour Party Executive by its own branches.

In the circumstances actually existing a public declaration of pacifism by the party surely would mean a statement that the nation is divided—for we cannot expect this government to offer fundamental rectification of grievances. Labour in the saddle could take up a different attitude from Labour on foot.

My friends and I loathe the need for this attitude. We are conscious of duplicity in urging a stand we think should be withdrawn in the limit. But the pacifist alternative to us would precipitate that state of despotism where only martyrs can do any good.

"DON."

Will you please allow me to correct one or two statements in your article (September 17 issue), "Labour Leaders sell the Pass"?

The Labour Party is not a socialist party. Its present, and past, attitude is therefore understandable, however deplorable. In its patter it may occasionally use the term socialism as applied to its own outlook. The nazis do the same.

Its highest reach of political thought is, like the other older parties, toward a reformed capitalism and the maintenance of a bellicose patriotic tribalism. It has only the dimmest conceptions of a real internationalism.

Keir Hardie, with the Labour Party, supported the last war. It can readily be granted that he was grieved at its outbreak. So were millions more but it did not prevent their support of the war.

If the Labour Party had devoted a small fraction of the zeal and energy in exposing British imperialism, and its accumulated plunder called the British Empire, that it expends in denouncing foreign governments, and had it insistently demanded, with Mr. Lansbury and others, a fair and square deal all round, it would have contributed something solid to peace, and the present situation would never have arisen.

That it has made passing and incidental references to this may be admitted, but that is all it may claim to its credit. Its real attitude and spirit is better indicated by Mr. Morrison, when, some eighteen months or so ago, at a meeting at Bethnal Green, he replied to a questioner on the subject of the one-time German colonies. "I think it funny when an Englishman wants to hand over part of the British Empire." In other words what we have we hold.

It may still be funny to Mr. Morrison, but the relation of the British Empire to the rest of the world is the crux of the whole matter. What we have obtained by force and violence other late-comers in the same imperialist field are prepared to imitate. All the Labour Party can do to meet this state of affairs is to blow hard the bugle and collect from all parts possible the strongest military force available to threaten our imitators that this won't do.

It can be granted at once to this inept party that such a threat of overwhelming force is likely to deter Germany from any forceful designs she may have just now. But is the childishness of the party so great as to imagine that this solves anything? Is it not certain that Germany will bide her time, and probably, with the help of others, strike later?

And the policy of the Labour Party will be then what it is now—war. War in defence of British capitalist imperialism against the challenge of rivals in the same field of exploitation.

The Labour Party then having broadcast its willingness again to support the slaughter of millions on capitalism's battlefields are today not only the most vociferous war party in the land (the communists hardly count), but have indelibly branded themselves before the workers of the world as a party of utter and final futility. The few socialists who are mistakenly in this party hoping to convert it to sanity and socialism ought immediately to come out.

V. WILSON.

36 Brown Lane, Heald Green, Cheshire.

I cannot afford the time to point out the host of inaccuracies, often verging on the untruthful, with which your statement (September 17 issue) is stuffed—such as the statement that the Labour movement is committed to "blind and unstinted support to a war."

I should like to know, however, what are the qualifications on which you base your refusal to accept the declarations of our leaders as the "true voice of British socialism." Who are you, to tell me what is or is not the voice of socialism?

Having devoted the whole of my adult life to the service of that ideal, I claim to know something of its meaning. I have yet to learn that the cause of social justice (which, in a temporary lapse into lucidity, you kindly admit to be one of the aims of socialism) can best be served by the triumph of fascism.

There is nothing in your article to suggest any concern at the torture and slaughter of thousands of my comrades (some of them personal friends) which has been the result of fascism's victory in Italy, Germany, Spain and Austria.

Am I to assume, then, that the Peace Pledge Union approves of slaughter by slow degrees in cellars and concentration camps, and limits its condemnation to those forms of murder which takes place in trenches? Is it any consolation to my tortured friends in Vienna to know that the PPU looks upon their state and finds it good, because they have been saved from the sin of defending themselves?

Since your article was printed, you will have observed with satisfaction that Mr. Chamberlain is to carry out your wishes by delivering the Sudeten areas—and the dominance of Eastern Europe—to your



German fellow-pacifists. That socialist working men will be hounded to death, that independent thought will be banished from yet another area of Europe, is, of course, nothing to you. Peace has prevailed.

The socialist movement exists to overthrow capitalism. War is a by-product of capitalism. I have devoted, and shall continue to devote my life to fighting both. War is an evil; so is the exploitation of men by their fellows. If you think you can end the one without ending the other, you are making the kind of mistake I should expect from a society so many of whose members owe their comfortable circumstances to the labour of other people.

The Labour movement was born of human suffering more terrible than anything which can afflict your tender consciences. I am, and intend to remain, a loyal member of that movement until that suffering is ended.

Wm. HALSALL,  
Prospective Labour Candidate,  
High Peak Division.

41 Bowden Lane, Marple, Stockport.

Although I have seen no indication that our Labour leaders have sold the pass I am sending you a copy of a resolution approved last evening at one of our local party meetings:—

That the Gomersal Labour Party denounces the shameful betrayal of Czechoslovakia, a loyal member of the League of Nations, by Neville Chamberlain and his National Government associates; it condemns this short-sighted policy favouring nazi aggrandizement and the resulting brutal persecution of millions of working men and women; it demands that Britain abandons this policy of panic and rallies the democratic nations to the banner of civilization and the rule of right; it pledges itself to work unceasingly for the overthrow of a government which has rightly earned for Great Britain the contempt of the civilized world.

Copies have been sent to Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Halifax, Sir John Simon, and the editor of the *Daily Herald*.

Let us attack the real enemy rather than help him by attacking our comrades.

GRANVILLE SHARP,  
76 Booth Street, Secretary,  
Cleckheaton. Spen Valley Divisional  
Labour Party.

## London Community Activities

A community gathering and conference will be held on November 5, at Kingsley Hall, Bow, E.3, organized by the Community Service Committee.

This will follow on from the conferences of last year and will review the interesting developments that have taken place, and are taking place, in the direction of practical community since the Bow conference of December, 1937.

The relation of community to the peace movement, to the churches, to the problems of unemployment will be outlined, and working reports will be given by representatives of experimental groups which have been taking shape during recent months. It is expected also that some strong directional lines for action will be indicated for the coming days.

There will be an afternoon and an evening session with an interval for tea and informal discussion. Full details of sessions will be available later and will be sent on request as soon as ready. (Half-penny stamp should accompany request where possible).

### WINTER STUDY MEETINGS

Supplementary to the general meeting at Kingsley Hall a course of group study talks on some practical aspects of community will be held monthly at the Bayswater Peace Centre, 52a Queensway, W.2, at 8 p.m.

The centre is easily accessible from the City or West End, and these talks have been arranged specially for the benefit of those working in or living within reach of London. They are planned to carry through the winter.

The first three meetings will be as follows:—

October 19; the Rev. Godfrey Pain (Kingsley Hall) on "Spiritual Basis of Community."

November 23; Professor J. W. Scott (Homecroft Association) on "Economic Basis of Community."

December 7; Eberhard Arnold (Cotswold Bruderhof) on "Community in Action."

All will be welcomed but it will assist arrangements if readers can notify as early as possible their intention to be present at the Kingsley Hall gathering and/or the group study meetings at Bayswater Peace Centre. All correspondence should be sent to honorary secretary, Community Service Committee, "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.

**Now more than ever  
see that every meeting  
to demand peace  
and oppose war  
is WELL attended**

## DIARY OF THE WEEK

October

1 (Sat.) SCARBOROUGH; 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, York Place; annual regional meeting; John Barclay and others; PPU. MANCHESTER; 7.30 p.m. Oxford Hall; two plays of St. Francis by Laurence Housman, and one by H. Chapin; admission by programme 6d., PPU South Manchester Players. KENDAL; 8 p.m. Town Hall; Canon Stuart D. Morris; chairman: Harold C. Wilson. "Constructive Peacemaking"; PPU.

2 (Sun.) BOURNEMOUTH; 9.30 a.m. Pokesdown Men's Adult School, Fellowship Hall, Kimberley Road, West Southbourne; Rendall Davies on "Pacifism and the Alternatives"; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM; 3 p.m. Lightwoods Park; open air meeting; PPU.

BRISTOL; 3 p.m. Folk House, College Green; conference of PPU members; tea at 5 p.m.

GAINSBOROUGH; 6 p.m. Unitarian Church, Trinity Street; Miss Mary Gamble.

YORK; 7.45 p.m. Friends House, Clifford Street; John Barclay, annual general meeting of York PPU group.

CHEADLE; 8 p.m. Electra Cinema; Laurence Housman; PPU. Admission free; reserved seats (6d. and 1s.) from W. J. Lyon, 6 Church Road, Gatley.

STRATFORD; 8 p.m. Town Hall (see Classified Advertisements); International Friendship League.

BRISTOL; 8 p.m. Central Hall, Old Market Street; Rev. E. C. Urwin, Gertrude Dare and Harold F. Bing; PPU.

EXETER; 8.15 p.m. YMCA; Dr. D. A. Crow and W. B. Curry; PPU.

STREATHAM; 8.15 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Stanthorpe Road; M. W. Briar and Robert King; PPU.

NORTHAMPTON; 8.30 p.m. Market Square; Churches' Demonstration; Rev. H. O. Evans, Rev. J. W. Edmundson, Rev. Hubert W. Janisch and Rev. R. Glanville; PPU.

The meetings at TIVERTON, NOTTINGHAM, and Friends House, LONDON, N.W.1, were advertised in error last week under October 2. The meetings have already taken place on September 24, 25 & 26, respectively.

3 (Mon.) NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE; 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Café Extension; Newgate Street; discussion on "Propaganda Methods for Pacifists," led by Harold E. Berry; PPU. BURNLEY; 7.30 p.m. Mechanics' Institute; Dr. E. Vipont Brown on "Biology and War"; PPU.

BEXHILL-ON-SEA; 8 p.m. De La Warr Pavilion; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., on "Through Justice to Peace"; PPU.

HERNE HILL; 8 p.m. Baptist Church Hall (corner Winterbrook Road and Half Moon Lane); Denzil Dix on "My Experiences in Soviet Russia"; PPU.

MARPLE; 8 p.m. Carver Institute; Laurence Housman on "The Cost of War and the Price of Peace"; PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Ordnance Road; C. W. Hope-Gill; monthly meeting; PPU.

4 (Tues.) LANCASTER; 7.30 p.m. Ashton Hall; Peace Rally; Laurence Housman and Rev. Henry Carter; Chairman: Rev. F. F. Pepper; PPU.

LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street; London Group Leaders' Meeting; PPU.

RICHMOND; 8 p.m. St. John's Hall, Lower Church Road; Alex. Wood, Sybil Morrison, and Rev. E. B. Roebuck (chairman); PPU.

5 (Wed.) HARBORNE; 7.30 p.m. Baptist Church Hall; Canon Stuart Morris and Wilfred Wellock; chairman: Capt. H. Hilditch; PPU.

NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Congregational Schoolroom; Rev. Paul Gliddon; PPU.

KINGSWAY; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Pacifist Fellowship.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Prof. John MacMurray on "Religion in the modern world"; FPSL.

6 (Thurs.) LONDON, W.1; 1.10 p.m. King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Harold LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Edmund Cockledge on "Seen and Heard in Palestine"; City PPU Group.

LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Business Meeting; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1; 7.15 p.m. King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; debate between Mrs. W. C. Roberts (PPU) and Rev. Fr. Jack Puttrill (Priest of the Catholic Crusade).

HULL; 8 p.m. Queens Hall; Laurence Housman; PPU.

SIDCUP; 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Wellington Avenue; talk to Lamorby Labour Party members; "The Peace Pledge Union," by Mr. T. Egerton Dale; PPU.

SUTTON; 8 p.m. 51 Sherwood Road; Edmund Cockledge on "Seen and Heard in Palestine"; PPU.

7 (Fri.) NORWICH; 8 p.m. Princes' Street Lecture Hall; Canon C. E. Raven and Rev. Colin Roberts (chairman); FoR.

JERSEY; 8 p.m. Plaza Tea Room, St. Helier; Supper Table Conference; Canon Stuart Morris (admission 9d.); PPU.

8 (Sat.) STOKES-ON-TRENT; Victoria Hall, Hanley; Parliamentary Pacifist Convention; 3 p.m. convention; 7 p.m. demonstration;

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9 (Sun.) JERSEY; 11 a.m. St. Paul's Church, St. Helier; Canon Stuart Morris; 6.30 p.m., Aquila Road Methodist Church; Canon Morris; 8 p.m., Aquila Road Schoolroom; "question time," conducted by Canon Stuart Morris and John Barclay; PPU.	TYPEWRITING
NOTTING HILL GATE; 11 a.m. Lindsey Hall, The Mall; C. H. Cole (New Zealand) on "Some Personal Convictions"; Free Religious Movement.	TYPING FOR "PEACE" Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3309; 7, Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, F.C.2.
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WEST NORWOOD; 8 p.m. St. Luke's Church Hall; Preston Benson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Rev. Kenneth Budd; chairman: The Mayor of Lambeth; PPU.	
15 (Sat.) DERBY; 2.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. Parliamentary Pacifist Convention; James H. Hudson (chairman), George Lansbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, H. G. McGhee, I. E. Ibbotson, W. Minty, D. Pickrell and V. Yates.	
17 (Mon.) NOTTINGHAM; 7.30 p.m.; Adult School, Friar Lane; Capt. Butcher; Regional PPU.	
November	
11 (Frid.) SPECIAL ARMISTICE DAY CELEBRATIONS, 11 a.m. Regents Park, 3 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster; Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. M. Pavitt, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Vera Brittain, Mrs. Theo Naffel; further details later; Women's Co-operative Guild, assisted by PPU.	

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# AN OPEN LETTER To Members of the Labour Party

From WILFRED WELLOCK

**I**N times of crisis conventions and normal reservations must stand aside. When world war threatens and a big extension of totalitarianism looms behind, it is necessary to speak clearly and frankly, and above everything else to be sincere. I lament having to oppose comrades when great issues are at stake, and when, more than at all other times unity of purpose and action is essential. But if vital differences do exist it is better to express them, since taking a wrong course may put an end to common dreams.

In that belief I desire to say what lies heavily on my mind, and I hope to do so without anger or bitterness.

During the last three weeks we have been threatened with the imminent outbreak of a world war which would have had the complete backing of the official Labour Party.

That stark fact has almost stunned me. I have tried to visualize what it means—the working men and women of Germany and Italy, of Britain and France, ninety percent of whom are propertyless and the common victims of a vicious system of social exploitation, of criminal unemployment and poverty amidst plenty; pouring upon each other poison gas, liquid fire, millions of tons of iron and steel at lightning speed day in, day out, thus destroying each other by an insensate process of mass murder, demolishing each other's homes and the things they all esteem and live by at a rate so colossal that few would desire to live in the time that would follow it.

## A THING OF THE PAST

And Czechoslovakia—would she have been saved? You know that long before the end, little Czechoslovakia would have perished in the holocaust, become a thing of the past, lost and almost forgotten, while the larger nations, decimated, battered, and broken would all alike have retired like dying lions to contemplate their madness in the remorseful silence of a common despair.

Is Labour really ready for that? That picture, by the way, is no exaggeration. Speaking in Glasgow on September 11, Herbert Morrison stated that "another war would smash the world."

In view of that opinion how can Mr. Morrison support a policy which might involve participation in such a war?

That is the question I ask you to face and answer.

Can you imagine anything worse than a smashed world? If you preserve your world there is always a hope that you can improve it, but if you smash it by means of a modern war you have no hope left.

This attitude is all the more astonishing in view of the fact that after the Great War the entire Labour movement, looking back on those four years of working-class suicide, declared with a united voice: never again.

It realized that war was the last word in human imbecility, the grave of the workers' hopes and ideals.

Yet within twenty years, during which time the massacring power of armaments has increased a hundred-fold, many Labour leaders have repudiated that "never again" in favour of "once more."

## THE ALTERNATIVE

Now put the alternative at its worst, and assume that Hitler is allowed to take the Sudetenland, at least the world would remain intact, while all the avenues would be open for the genius and commonsense of mankind to go to the roots of the malady which afflicts modern civilization, and find a remedy for it.

In any case you, as a supporter of social justice, must acknowledge that Hitler is an effect rather than a cause, and that we British must accept a big share of responsibility for his existence as a dictator, and for the demands he is now making.

Remembering that vital fact, why should we call upon German and British workers to atone for the sins of capitalism and imperialism by pouring poison gas and liquid fire upon each other?

I hope it is not necessary for me to say that I hold no brief for the Prime Minister. He stands for a view of life, and of society, that is diametrically opposed to my own, but I believe he is convinced that Hitler means to seize the Sudetenland if it is not ceded to him.

I am also convinced that he has a dreadful fear of war and what may follow in its wake, and I fancy that Hitler will have reminded him of the economic disabilities under which his people are condemned to exist as the result of the monopolistic imperialism of Britain, France, and America.

## "WE OUGHT TO SHARE"

Now I, like you, have a profound objection to Czechoslovakia being called upon to make sacrifices which, to say the least we ought to share, since Hitler's demand for the Sudetenland is Germany's reply to the Treaty of Versailles, the Ottawa Agreements, etc., as were the demands of Japan for Manchuria, and Italy for Abyssinia.

These three countries are being sacrificed on the altar of imperialism as payments on account in settlement of the differences which exist between the big Powers.

That is the price we have to pay for having elected this Government. Our task is to expose all these facts, demand a just settlement, and create a public opinion which will insist on having such a settlement, not call upon our people to take liquid fire across to Berlin and go out of their minds in seeking to escape liquid fire from Germany.

To destroy the world is a madman's way of trying to solve the troubles within it. It is like the man who burned his house in order to roast his pig.

What pains me so much in these crises is the tendency to forget our British responsibility for them. We acknowledge the iniquities of the peace treaties and of the existing imperialistic systems, and are aware of the unspeakable suffering they have brought upon the German—and other—people during the last twenty years, yet as soon as trouble, directly due to these causes arises, even leaders, who ought to know better, appear ready to go to war, and completely forget our share of responsibility for it.

Indeed the situation today in all essential respects is parallel with that in 1914. Why, then, repeat the tragedy of 1914? You were quite certain in 1918 that there must be no more working-class suicide, no more wars to hang Kaisers. Yet you are now ready for a war to hang Hitler.

A war today to defend Czechoslovakia and democracy will be even more futile than the war to save Belgium and democracy in 1914, partly because war is far more destructive today than it was then, but also because the conduct of modern war demands a fascist organization which everybody agrees will remain in being when the war is over.

There will be precious little liberty after the next holocaust, even if it stops short of destroying civilization.

Then what is the cause of this retreat to 1914? I will tell you: it is the acceptance of the pernicious doctrine of collective security.

## A CHANGE OF VIEWS

Down to 1934 the Labour Party remembering the lessons of the Great War, held steadfastly to a policy of "no more war." But in 1934, at the Southport conference, it went back on that position and declared that there might be circumstances in which it would be able to support a League war in defence of collective security.

Hence during the last four years we have been repeatedly told that overwhelming

military force in the hands of "League" Powers would insure the victory of law and peace.

The present situation is a complete repudiation of that claim. The big Powers are more evenly arrayed against each other today than was the case in 1914, and on precisely similar issues. International law has no more meaning today than it had then, since the operative law among all the great Powers is that of conquest and imperialist domination.

**Nothing whatever has happened since 1918 to alter that situation. The Labour Party is, on paper, opposed to the whole policy of imperialist conquest and domination, but what is it doing to fulfil that policy today?**

The depredations of imperialism are far worse today than ever in the past, and are the root cause of the new wave of imperialist conquest that is now sweeping across the world. It is impossible to differentiate between the new conquests and the old, since the old are causative. The attempt to do so has tied the Labour Party to the tail of governments and of powers, whose ideals and objectives are fundamentally opposed to its own, and even to support those objectives, perhaps unwittingly and unintentionally, by means of war.

The situation bursts the collective security bubble once and for all. The present line-up of the Powers clearly proves that those who said that collective security would effectively prevent war were wrong, while the threat of imminent war blows sky high the whole case for collective security in an imperialistically organized world.

Unless something is done in the near future to give effect to major changes in international relations I am convinced that the fascist dictators will be driven by spiritual no less than economic necessity to choose between revolution and war, and if that happens I think they are likely to choose war.

## INFORM THE PUBLIC

What are the chances of those major changes taking place? In my view our immediate task should be to inform the public upon the seething injustice which abounds between the nations and to create a burning demand for two things: (1) the readjustment of national boundaries, and (2) the transformation of imperialist policy, and especially colonial imperialism, with a view to taking the first steps in a new system of international economic cooperation.

These two issues must stand together, since the adjustment of boundaries is dependent upon economic adjustment.

These issues are beset with grave difficulties, but these must be overcome. When the existence of humanity itself is at stake squabbling over trifles must cease. Powers which can afford to spend thousands of millions of pounds on armaments must not boggle over economic sacrifices in the interest of justice and peace.

To secure these changes the fate of governments is of no consequence. Life itself calls to us. Let us all become its missionaries and help to create an overwhelming demand for a world conference to deal with these matters in a manner befitting the need. On these lines we could effectively subdue every dictator, and meet the future with a new and living hope.

## Proposals to Czechoslovakia

### HERR HITLER'S ULTIMATUM

**O**N Monday Herr Hitler delivered his ultimatum for the Czech Government to accede to his demands by October 1.

His speech followed the acceptance of the Anglo-French plan for Czechoslovakia by General Jan Sirovy's new Government, and the rejection of the proposals submitted by the German Government.

Herr Hitler's speech, however, is generally interpreted as leaving room for some modification, even of his own terms.

Following is the text of the two sets of proposals for comparison:

### THE ANGLO-FRENCH PLAN

1. Transfer, without a plebiscite, of areas with more than fifty percent Sudeten German inhabitants, with a proviso that there should be arrangement for adjustments of the frontier where circumstances render it necessary, by some international body which would include a Czechoslovak representative.
2. An exchange of population on a basis of the populations' exercising a right of option freely within some specified time limit.
3. If the Czechoslovak Government is prepared to agree to these measures, which involve material changes in the conditions of the State, they are entitled to ask for guarantees of their future security.

### GERMAN PROPOSALS

1. Withdrawal of the whole Czech armed forces, the police, the gendarmeries, the Customs officials, and the frontier guards, from the area to be evacuated, this area to be determined by Germany and handed over to Germany on October 1.
2. The evacuated territory to be handed over in its present condition. The German Government agrees that a plenipotentiary representative of the Czech Government and of the Czech army should be attached to the headquarters of the German military forces to deal with the details of the arrangements for evacuation.
3. The Czech Government to discharge at once all Sudeten Germans serving in the military forces or the police anywhere in Czech State territory, and permit them to return home.
4. The Czech Government to liberate all political prisoners of German race.
5. The German Government agrees to permit a plebiscite to take place in those areas, which will be more definitely defined, before, at latest, November 25. Alterations to the new frontier arising out of the plebiscite will be settled by a German-Czech or an international commission.
6. The German Government proposes that an authoritative German-Czech commission should be set up to settle all further details.

### In 1920 . . .

Cecil H. Wilson, M.P., sends us the following quotation from Labour and the Peace Treaty, published in 1920:

The German districts of Czechoslovakia are (by arrangement which Germany is compelled to agree to beforehand) refused the right of self-determination; a similar refusal is made in the case of Germans in the Austrian Tyrol. Together they form a population as large as that of Ireland. If to those we add the German districts that go to Poland, we get a German "Irredentist" population several times as great as the population of Alsace-Lorraine, whose separation from France was so large a factor in preventing during half a century, the establishment of European peace. He comments: "I do not know that there has been any declared change of view since 1920 in regard to self-determination, nor any sustained effort to remove what at the time was felt by the Labour Party to be a wrong; and now the storm has burst."

But until a very short time ago few people in this country had any concern for Czechoslovakia, and now there is a demand for some kind of strong action.

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# PEACE NEWS

October 1, 1938

## Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

From the economic point of view it is sheer madness to continue to induce Czechs to settle in the already over-populated German speaking distressed areas.

We socialists openly declare that the unfair treatment of Germans in public services and administration, and in the treatment of the language problem, has reached a point at which it has become unendurable. Czech statesmen must decide definitely whether or not, in their conception of the Czech State, there is room for the Sudeten Germans. No-one who knows Herr Jaksch would accuse him of being a henchman of Hitler.

### MENACE TO FRANCE

WE are then told that Hitler wants to destroy Czechoslovakia because his real aim is to annihilate France with a view to world domination. In support of this statement, but in another place, an extract from *Mein Kampf* is given.

These extracts, torn from their context, can prove very little especially from a book written, as the context shows, under the influence of the French aggression in the Ruhr.

We either accept or we do not accept Hitler's assurances oft repeated that there are no more differences between France and Germany.

### BRITISH SAFETY

APPARENTLY British safety is also involved. The passage is rather obscure and reads:—

The point is this: If Czechoslovakia remains strong, Russia, in alliance with her, can prevent Germany concentrating all her forces on France, but if Czechoslovakia goes there is a barrier between Germany and Russia who would then find it far more difficult to help France.

Only one interpretation of this sentence is possible, and that is that a strong Czechoslovakia is a military frontier for a Russian attack upon Germany.

That is precisely what Hitler complained of when he said on Monday:—

The international task of the Czech State is to form a French air base against Germany and a Bolshevik canal into central Europe. It followed a foreign policy which could compel Germans to shoot at Germans.

How the ending of a Russian military frontier in Central Europe can destroy British safety is left obscure.

### SMASHING OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE leaflet then proceeds to declare that the "plan" smashes Czechoslovakia. "It deprives her of her mountain frontiers, her magnificent fortifications, and an immense part of her industry. She would be powerless whether 'guaranteed' or not (we know now the worth of guarantees!)"

Are the authors of this leaflet suggesting that frontiers, however unjust, should be drawn on mountains? Have those "magnificent" fortifications given the State any real security? Are there not other States which have no mountain frontiers, and no "magnificent" fortifications, who have enjoyed greater security and freedom from aggression than Czechoslovakia?

And this "immense part" of her industry, who built it up? The Czechs or the Sudeten Germans? If the former, how is it that it is within the Sudeten German areas? And what has happened to this industry under Czech rule?

Here is a picture of it given in the Carlsbad socialist paper *Volkstimme* on May 31, 1936:—

The Sudeten Germans have reached the utter depths of misery. Their towns and industrial districts resemble cemeteries. Where there were thousands of keen and efficient workers, there are now only unemployed living on the dole, and if a few of them still have work they can scarcely earn enough to pay for the barest necessities of life.

These people of the frontier districts lead a joyless drab existence and their nerves, and their courage, and their endurance have been tested to a degree which can only be described as inhuman.

### A WAR FOR PEACE

THE leaflet ends by assuring us that "giving way" to Hitler will make war more certain and in the end we should be defeated. But "if we stand firm, we, the French, and the Russians, even at this eleventh hour, if he were mad enough to challenge us, he would certainly be defeated."

In this whole effusion, out to stir public opinion, there is not a single reference to a constructive peace policy, not a single reference to international justice, not a word on economic exploitation and imperialism as a cause for war.

It is an appeal to brutal force equal to anything that Hitler has issued. It uses the

immense tragedy of Czechoslovakia and its possible terrible consequences for mean and partisan purposes.

### THE TWO PLANS

THE following differences between the Anglo-French and the German plans stand out.

Hitler's memorandum laid down a definite date by which time the whole operation should be fully completed. Secondly, Hitler demanded a plebiscite, which the Anglo-French plan did not include. Thirdly, Hitler said nothing about the transfer of populations, nor did he give any kind of assurances for the future security of Czechoslovakia. The real and outstanding difference between Hitler's plan and the Anglo-French plan lies in establishing where the population is over fifty percent German. Chamberlain seems to have envisaged the results of the last municipal elections as being used as a basis of establishing the new frontier. Hitler wished to establish the frontier on a line as he believes it would have been drawn on a basis of self determination in 1918 at the signing of the Peace Treaties. That was the issue on which a European war was threatened this week.

### WHY THERE IS A DIFFERENCE

THE difference between these present and retrospective conceptions of justice is due to the fact that since these territories have come under Czechoslovak rule, immense efforts at Czech colonization have been undertaken.

One of the big grievances of the Sudeten Germans has been the nature of this artificial colonization which has been the subject of unregarded petitions to the League of Nations under the minority treaties. The presence of these Czech colonists has affected the municipal election results especially in the more sparsely inhabited rural areas. Hitler's proposals completely eliminate the colonists from the scope of his plebiscite.

If Hitler's proposals are adopted what is to become of the Czech colonists? Must we really have an immense European war over their presence in Sudetenland? Clearly if Hitler's proposals are accepted, they cannot be left to the tender mercies of Nazi revenge.

Have we not a precedent in the dealing of such potential victims of Nazism in the way the problem was dealt with in the Saar? The arrangements whereby they were allowed to leave the Saar territory with their property worked well and could be repeated.

### THE GUARANTEE

IT was widely reported that Chamberlain refused to discuss with Hitler the question of the Polish and Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia.

If this is so, it would be impossible for Hitler to give any guarantee of the integrity of what remains of Czechoslovakia till these minorities have been dealt with. It would be expecting too much of Germany to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia against Hungary and Poland who may take action against the Czechs in the same way as Germany has done in the case of Sudeten.

Till these other minority problems have been solved, no guarantee from any country can seriously be given.

### EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS

ONE of the major tragedies of the present situation, whether it result in war or not, will be the growing spirit of militarism among the democracies.

The demand for national registration now comes from all sides. Even the demand for conscription is being heard from Labour quarters.

The latest recruit to Sir Edward Grigg's campaign is Lord Strabolgi, who is a member of the Parliamentary Labour Party Executive. He believes that the time has come "for a measure of compulsory national service" so that "we can get the men we want and put them where we want them."

There has been no repudiation of this view from official Labour circles. It can be safely assumed that no-one in Lord Strabolgi's position would have dared to express publicly such opinions if it were not a prevalent opinion among his Labour associates.

It seems that the safeguarding of democracy will require a new political force if Labour is unable and unwilling to act as its custodian.

## A Rallying Call to Christian Pacifists

From Dr. Donald Soper, president of the Kingsway Hall branch of the Methodist Peace Fellowship, comes the following message:

These are the "days of stress" in which our first responsibility is to "hold fast," and this we shall not be able to do by the subtlety of our arguments, but by the Grace of God, for our pacifism is grounded in the Christian certainty, "I can... through Christ who strengthens me."

A NUMBER of statements constituting, individually and together, a rallying call to Christian pacifists have just been issued.

From the Christian Pacifist Congress, which was held in Friends House, London, last week-end, organized by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, comes the following:—

The Christian Pacifist Congress, meeting at Friends House from September 22 to 24, just when the crisis over Czechoslovakia is reaching its acute stage, resolves to issue a rallying and heartening call to Christian pacifists throughout the country, and if possible throughout the world.

Thrusting aside any tendency to fatalism or despair and seeking only to renew confidence in the power of God and of persistent good will, the congress recognizes that already something like a state of war exists in Central Europe. Armies have been mobilized, and a general outbreak may occur just because statesmen will not recede from positions they have taken up and cannot feel themselves strong enough to follow the Christian way.

If general war breaks out and this country is involved, the congress feels that it will be of the first importance for Christian pacifists to strive by all right means to keep in touch with one another, whatever happens.

If headquarters offices are prevented from functioning, other arrangements, local and central, must be improvised and every effort made to maintain personal contact, to seek new ways of making peace, and to give support to those in need, spiritual or physical. But in the last issue the Christian pacifist has to stand in apparent isolation, strong only in the knowledge that others whom he cannot see are likewise maintaining their testimony in a common confidence in God.

In the meantime let us be resolute to stem the tide that sweeps the nations into war. War destroys justice and right feeling. Its bitter losses hinder the restoration of peace.

Let us nevertheless be sympathetic with those who seem set in opposite convictions, while persevering to convert them. And let us by every device that Christ-inspired imagination suggests, keep the idea of the council table foremost in men's minds.

But let the Christian spirit continually shape our thoughts on difficult subjects, like patriotism, race, democracy, law and justice; and let us in all our work be true to the methods imposed on us by our aim. Even good men fail to accomplish the good end by bad means.

To gain Christ's peace we must be faithful to His ways and ready for all sacrifice. We shall not stumble in darkness by following Christ. We shall have the light of life.

### BUILDING FOR PEACE

In issuing a statement, of which the following are the main points, the Cotswold Bruderhof, Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wiltshire, asks for help in its distribution:—

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## STOP PRESS

### PEACE TALKS?

To PPU manifesto (page 1), which it refused to publish, *Times* replied Mr. Chamberlain could "do the work of a world conference" with Hitler alone. Small beginnings may well be necessary, but neither two nor four big Powers can alone do that work or even lay foundations of a just all-round settlement unless they consider something more than peace as between themselves. But the respite—for which, at any rate, Mr. Chamberlain deserves world's thanks—is very opportunity peace movement itself has sought to carry on with still greater vigour its campaign for REAL justice for ALL.

### ARP COMPULSION

Two probationary nurses summarily dismissed posts, Tuesday, for declining to be measured for gas masks, being refused opportunity to state grounds of objection. They are Miss Aird and Miss Lawson, employed St. Bartholomew's Hospital Training School, London. Both members Peace Pledge Union.